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The current research looked at ways in which the built environment of an ethnic enclave contributes to the definition and redefinition of the ethnic identity of its inhabitants. Assuming a dynamic component of the built environment, the study advanced the idea of the streetscape as an active agent of change in the definition and redefinition of ethnic identity. Throughout a century of existence, Little Italy – New York's most prominent Italian enclave – changed its demographics, appearance and significance; these changes resonated with changes in the ethnic identity of its inhabitants.

From its beginnings at the end of the nineteenth century until the present, Little Italy's Mulberry Street has maintained its privileged status as the core of the enclave, but changed its symbolic role radically. Over three generations of Italian immigrants, Mulberry Street changed its role from a space of trade to a space of leisure, from a place of providing to a place of consuming, and from a social arena to a tourist tract. The photographic analysis employed in this study revealed that changes in the streetscape of Mulberry Street connected with changes in the ethnic identity of its inhabitants, from regional Southern Italian to Italian American. Moreover, the photographic evidence demonstrates the active role of the street in the permanent redefinition of the Italian American identity.

STREETSCAPE AND ETHNICITY: NEW YORK'S MULBERRY STREET
AND THE REDEFINITION OF THE ITALIAN AMERICAN
ETHNIC IDENTITY

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION



“If we strip the expression Little Italy of the prejudice and frivolity of its origins, it becomes a useful way to describe the setting and surrounding atmosphere within which an Italian American class structure and popular culture emerged in the United States between 1880 and 1930. The ethnic neighborhood was much more than a geographical fact; it was the *ambiente* of a social and cultural transition that was not at all identical with the process of assimilation.” (Harney, 1991, p. 178)

Background

An urban ethnic enclave is not a stagnant environment. Vital connections with the larger host environment make the ethnic neighborhood susceptible to respond to cultural factors. Likewise, all through a century of its existence, New York’s Little Italy went through changes in its demographics, boundaries, and significance for the Italian ethnic community that inhabited it. From an exclusively Italian ethnic neighborhood at the beginning of the twentieth century to a diverse ethnic arena at the end of the century, from a 24 block area to a portion of street, from a place to live to a place to visit, Little Italy has reflected dynamics in the ethnic identity of the community that found expression in the built environment of the enclave. Understanding these changes in the built

environment and in the Italian American ethnic identity, their history, causes, and manifestations, is to comprehend the importance of the built environment in the permanent redefinition of Italian ethnic identity, from within the ethnic group and from outside, by the larger society. Moreover, studying the role of the built environment in the construction of ethnic identity contributes to the understanding of the ethnic landscape as a tool for measuring the level of adaptation of the ethnic group to the mainstream culture. The history of Little Italy, told through its tenements and its streets is the story of changes in ethnic identity, from a multitude of regional Italian identities to a single Italian American identity. The metamorphosis of Italian identity over three generations is the story of a permanent search for self identity within the American society.

At the end of the nineteenth century, New York's multitude of Italian enclaves attracted the greatest concentration of Italian immigrants, a population impressive in size, diversity and restless vitality (Pozzetta, 1981, p. 7). The fate of New York's Italian ethnic enclaves was extremely influential for the larger economic and cultural climate of the entire Italian America (Pozzetta, p. 7). Among them, *Little Italy*, also known as *Mulberry District*, *Mulberry Bend*, *New Italy* or *The Bend* is the oldest. From the end of the nineteenth century until the first quarter of the twentieth, Little Italy was the most important settlement urban area for incoming Italian immigrants (Pozzetta, p. 9). Today's Little Italy, although no longer inhabited by people of Italian descent, is the symbolic centre of *Italian-ness* in the United States (Napoli, 2004).

The boundaries of Little Italy shifted with time. This study assumed Pozzetta's definition of *Mulberry District* in its *Flourishing* period –late nineteenth and early

twentieth century – as the area bounded by Worth Street (Chatham Square) to the south, Broadway to the west, East Houston to the north, and Bowery to the east (Pozzetta, 1981). *Little Italy* is understood as the part of Mulberry District, bounded by Canal Street on the South, Centre Street on the west, East Houston Street on the north and the Bowery on the east. Little Italy coincides with *Little Italy Special District*, designated as a historic neighborhood by the New York Planning Commission, in 1977 (Fig. 1, 3).



Figure 1 Little Italy and Chinatown

As the main occupants of Mulberry Street, Neapolitans constituted a distinct crowd within the Southern Italian or *Mezzogiorno* society. Nevertheless, the settling and living in Little Italy blurred the cultural differences between the small ethnic groups that comprised the Italian South. Although diverse in traditions, the Calabrians, Neapolitans, or Sicilians were perceived as being southern Italians. In turn, the outsiders' perception reflected on the self redefinition of the multitude of Southern Italian identities of each regional group. In the minds of Little Italy's inhabitants, the multitude of regional identities coexisted within a single Southern Italian identity. While acknowledging their regional diversity, the study of Neapolitans on Mulberry Street is representative for the entire Southern Italian group.

As the core of Little Italy, Mulberry Street has come to represent the essence of *Italian-ness* in the United States. Its symbolic importance was determined bi-directionally, from both inside and outside of the ethnic group. In the minds of many Italian Americans Mulberry Street became synonymous with America; for Americans, in turn, Mulberry Street became synonymous with Italian ethnic settlements (Pozzetta, 1981, p. 23). Starting with the first Italian settlement at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Mulberry Street has acquired a privileged status within the Italian immigrant community, as a commercial and cultural spine. Mulberry Bend, the portion of Mulberry Street where the street bends in a small curve before intersecting Chatham Square, was the favorite settlement spot for the early Italian immigrants arriving in New York during the 1800s. Over time, as the Italian settlement retreated north of Canal Street, Mulberry Street reinforced its advantaged position as the commercial spine of the Italian enclave.

Ultimately, the preservation efforts initiated by the *Risorgimento* movement of the 1970s concentrated on Mulberry Street, specifically on the area delimited by Canal and Broome. Today, Mulberry Street displays the most visible Italian American ethnic pride, with its red, white and green flagpoles and hydrants, with its Italian cuisine invading the sidewalks, and with its cafes and outdoor terraces.

New York's Little Italy was shaped by a vast array of cultural forces. As the core of Little Italy, Mulberry Street witnessed cultural shifting and changed its appearance over time. The study links changes in the streetscape of Mulberry Street to cultural changes that shaped the community. The hypothesis of this study is that the diversity of facets that Mulberry Street acquired over time reflects changes in the ethnic identity of the community and of the larger Italian ethnic group. The study further argues that Mulberry Street represented an active agent of change in the shaping over time of the Italian American identity. This study illustrates the potential of Mulberry Street to be the carrier of identity for the larger Italian ethnic community. Furthermore, the study points out the distinct roles that the built environment plays in the construction of ethnic identity over two generations of Italian immigrants.

The Issue of Ethnicity

Any analysis of ethnicity necessitates the clarifying of term such as *assimilation*, *acculturation*, *ethnic identity* or *ethnic enclave*. The discussion of Italian American ethnicity comes with a full load of convergent theories on the assimilation or resistance of third generation Italian Americans into the mainstream society. The following part of the

study introduces terms like *ethnicity*, *ethnic group*, *acculturation* and *assimilation*, and presents the main theories of assimilation and acculturation that stay at the basis of ethnic studies in the United States.

Assimilation and acculturation

The Italian Americans represent an excellent ground for testing divergent theories of *assimilation* and *acculturation*. Once seemingly engaged towards their inevitable blending into the mainstream society, Italian Americans merged in the 1960s as an ethnic group determined to proudly assert their ethnicity (Vecoli, 1978; Aversa, 1978; Alba, 1985). Whether the assertion of Italian-ness in the United States expressed the persistence of an Italian ethnic identity or it represented in fact the very sign of assimilation still represents a contested issue.

Gordon (1964) recognized two main dimensions or degrees of assimilation of the ethnic group in the mainstream society. *Acculturation* – or cultural assimilation – occurs when the individual adopts the cultural traits of the host society, such as language, dress, manners and values. *Acculturation* represents a partial assimilation of the ethnic group in the host society, and it can be perpetuated indefinitely. The *structural assimilation* occurs when the individual establishes and maintains kinship relationships – marriage or friendship – with members of the host society. Unlike *acculturation*, *structural assimilation* represents the final step towards the complete assimilation of the individual into the host society.

Notions of *acculturation* and *structural assimilation* spurred from several traditional views regarding the degree of adaptation of the ethnic group into the American society. For decades, the American ethnic studies were dominated by the *melting pot* theory according to which any ethnic group in the United States would inevitably integrate into the larger American society to the point of unrecognizable differences (Gordon, 1964). Proponents of the melting pot like Warner and Stole also formulated the *straight line theory* which assumed the complete disappearance of the ethnic identity after several American born generations (Gans, 1992).

In the light of the massive upheaval of ethnicity in the 1960s, Barth (1969) and Novak (1971) challenged the straight line theory, stressing upon “the variable and adaptive nature of ethnicity” (Tricarico, p.75). Gans (1979) offered an alternative to the straight line theory. He advanced the so-called *bump line theory* which acknowledged the variability and most importantly the unpredictability of ethnicity. The “bumps” in Gans’ model of variable ethnicity represent various forms that ethnicity could take, in response to changing cultural circumstances. Mulberry Street’s preservation efforts spurred from the rising of a collective awareness of Italian ethnicity. Seen in the light of Gans’ theory, the interest in the preservation of Mulberry Street represented a cultural “bump,” one which resonated with the larger political and social scene of the 1960s.

Ethnic enclaves

The vast existing literature defines an ethnic enclave twofold. Firstly, it is a geographical setting that through proximity encourages the development of special

relationships between the people who inhabit it. Secondly, it is a social milieu consisting of an elaborate network of cultural traits that the inhabitants share. In an ethnic enclave people share common traditions based on common origins, history and experiences, and maintain high social interaction on a daily basis. Until the late 1950s, New York's Little Italy functioned as an ethnic enclave for it represented the physical and social milieu within which successive generations of Italian immigrants shared common traits in close proximity.

Robert Park (1925), the pioneer of ethnic studies in the United States stressed the prominence of physical space in the definition of the ethnic enclave. In Park's definition, the physical space of the enclave sustains a set of specialized services for its inhabitants, such as ethnic specific groceries, restaurants, sacred spaces, entertainment, or stores. As Park pointed out, the space of the enclave acquires and sustains ethnic identity by meeting the specialized needs of its inhabitants. Each distinctive group, along with its institutions becomes intimately associated with a geographical location.

Ethnicity

Throughout its existence, New York's Little Italy served the specialized needs of its inhabitants and transcended its role as a geographical location. As Harney (1991) observed, the ethnic neighborhood represented an "ambiente" or an environment within which the inhabitants shared a common culture while continuously negotiating their identity vis-à-vis the larger American society (Harney, 1991, p. 178). The sharing of common cultural values represents the basis of what forms an ethnic group, for it

provides the group with the idea of membership to a category (Barth, 1968, p 11). The desire for membership is, according to Alba (1985) necessary for the existence of the ethnic group. In his study of Italian American identity Alba stressed the need of the individual to manifest ethnic identity in order to become part of a group that already has a mythology, or “a pantheon of imagery that can make sense of the world” (Alba, 1985, p.9).

The revived interest in ethnicity of the 1960s brought about two contradicting views on the nature of ethnicity: *primordial* and *constructed*. Geertz and Issac considered ethnic identity as being *primordial*. The authors claim that ethnic identity originates in the need of people to belong to a shared, ancestral set of values that had been brought to the new country by the first immigrants. According to Novak (1979), the ethnic identity of the following generations of immigrants is a reverberation of the primordial ethnicity. The model of primordial ethnicity comes with the assumption that ethnicity is a fixed trait, one that does not change, but fades with every generation. The concept of primordial ethnicity endorses the inevitable assimilation of the ethnic group in the American society.

At the other end of the spectrum, Conzen, Gerber, Morawska, Pozzetta and Vecoli (2000) viewed ethnicity as a *cultural construction* accomplished over time, rather than a primordial unchanging trait. As such, ethnicity is “a process of construction or invention which incorporates, adapts, and amplifies preexisting communal solidarities, cultural attributes, and historical moments” (Conzen et al, 2000). Using the ethnic revival of the 1960s as an example, Conzen et al see the permanent invention of ethnicity as expressing

the active participation of immigrants in defining their place within the larger society.

With the theory of *ethnogenesis*, Glazer and Moynihan (1970) also define ethnicity as a reinvention of the ethnic group in the process of negotiating their position in the American society. The invention of ethnicity contradicts Gordon's *melting pot* theory according to which ethnic groups inevitably assimilate into the host society; thus, the renegotiation of ethnicity by the immigrant group "presumes a collective awareness and active decision making, as opposed to the passive, unconscious individualism of the assimilation model" (Conzen et al, 2000, p. 2).

While sharing Conzen's view of ethnicity as a construct, Gans (1979) offered a different interpretation to the 1960s ethnic revival in America. Gans proposed the term of *symbolic ethnicity* to describe a "new kind of ethnic involvement" that the third and fourth generations of immigrants manifested in the United States. In Gans' view, the ethnic revival movement did not express the intensification of ethnic identity but reflected and made visible a *different kind of ethnicity* that used *symbols*. Despite being more visible, this symbolic ethnicity was nothing but a new step towards acculturation and assimilation of the ethnic group in the American society. Indeed, the preservation actions focusing on the revitalization of Mulberry Street fabricated an environment with more visible Italian specific ethnicity. Still, according to Gans, these new augmented signs of ethnicity do not speak necessarily about an ethnic revival, but about a new path towards the assimilation and acculturation of the ethnic group in the American society.

Gans' view of symbolic ethnicity as a sign of assimilation begins with the assumption that the third generation of immigrants develops an interest in cultivating a

feeling of belonging to their ancestors' ethnic group. These grand children of the first immigrants find new ways to express this new identity not by adopting ancestral traits, but by the use of *symbols* (Gans, 1979, p.7). Ancestral cultural traits represented the very core of their existence as an ethnic group. By contrast, the new *symbolic ethnicity* contains an expressive function rather than an instrumental one. For the third generation of immigrants, ethnicity is turned into a "leisure time activity." This symbolic ethnicity manifests itself through the use of *ethnic symbols* that act as "signs rather than myths." Furthermore, these ethnic symbols are abstracted from the older culture and represent "stand-ins" for it (p.9).

Nostalgia is a key ingredient in the manifestation of symbolic ethnicity, for people identify with a past purified from all its imperfections. The signs of manifesting symbolic ethnicity can be found in different forms: at the commercial level, in the form of consuming ethnic goods and ethnic foods, at a ritual level in the form of celebrating sacred and secular old country, and in media and popular culture in the consuming of cinema, music, art, television, and of publications. The occasional visiting of the old country also counts as a symbol of ethnicity, as an attempt of the immigrants to connect with the land of their ancestors.

The practicing of symbolic ethnicity by the ethnic group does not contradict the *straight line theory*. According to Gans, symbolic ethnicity represents "an ethnicity of the last resort" which conceals assimilation and acculturation in a modified form (Gans, p. 7). In the same time, Gans admits the persistence of symbolic ethnicity over the course of many successive generations of immigrants. Especially in the case of Italian Americans

of the fourth and fifth generations, his prediction of symbolic ethnicity as the dominant way to be ethnic seems to be true. Perhaps more than any other ethnic group in the United States, the Italian Americans of the fourth and fifth generations use symbols like food ways and religious celebrations in order to display and reassure their ethnicity.

Gans' concept of symbolic ethnicity brings to the fore the importance of architectural space – seen as a public display of *symbols* – in the defining of ethnic identity. Present day Mulberry Street, with its abundance of Italian specific restaurants and stores and signage seems to attest the existence of a symbolic ethnicity that visibly manifests itself at the consumerist level. Indeed, the preservation actions focusing on the revitalization of Mulberry Street fabricated an environment with augmented signs of Italian-ness. Still, according to Gans, these new signs of ethnicity do not speak necessarily about an ethnic revival, but about a new path towards the assimilation and acculturation of the ethnic group in the American society.

Although divergent in deciphering whether Italian Americans' ethnic revival is a sign of assimilation or a sign of cultural resistance, both Gans's and Conzen's theories have valuable implications in studying the importance of Little Italy's physical space in the re-definition of ethnic identity. Both theories implicitly call attention to the role that the built environment of the enclave plays into the process of assimilation of Italian Americans into the main stream culture. Looking at ethnicity as a construct rather than a trait sets a specific tone for any discussion on ethnic places. Italian American ethnicity has been continuously rebuilt, partly out of American materials, and partly out of the cultural baggage of the immigrants (Alba, 1985, p.11). The physical space of the Italian

American enclave can itself be seen as an active ingredient in the casting the Italian
American ethnic identity within the larger American society.

CHAPTER II

THE ITALIAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN NEW YORK'S LITTLE ITALY

The literature on Italian Americans in New York identifies three main phases of development of Little Italy – *flourishing*, *decline*, and *revival* – which reflected major shifts in the demographic composition of the enclave. From its early beginnings in the late nineteenth century until the advent of the 1960s Risorgimento, Little Italy swelled and shrank; its patterns of development coincided with the emergence of three consecutive generations. Each generation brought with it a distinct approach towards the use of the enclave's space. As the commercial spine of the enclave, Mulberry Street itself changed its essence from an exclusive and Italian American place sustaining a strong old country culture to a tourist destination supporting a consumerist culture. Changes over time in the physical character of Mulberry Street relate to changes in the Italian American identity at large.

The following part of the study discusses the three stages of evolution of the enclave from the time of Italian mass migration in New York to the 1960s ethnic revival. Each phase of evolution corresponds respectively to the emergence of the first, second, and third generation of immigrants.

The First Generation of Italian Immigrants in New York's Little Italy During Flourishing Phase (1900-1930)

The winter of 1872 marked a crucial moment in the development of Little Italy, as more than 20,000 southern Italians arrived in New York in search of temporary work (Pozzetta, 1981). These southern sojourners soon established a chain migration system, calling their relatives and enlarging the family circles. By 1890 Italians occupied more than two thirds of the fourteenth ward, the region which comprises modern day Little Italy (Napoli, 2004). By 1905, the fourteenth ward contained the largest community of immigrants from the Italian peninsula in the city. Finally, around 1910, the entire area was completely taken over, as the immigrant population from the peninsula numbered over 500,000 (Napoli, 2004).

At its peak, Mulberry district represented a home away from home for a large number of immigrants from the Italian peninsula. Heavily influenced by their cultural roots, these immigrants attempted to adapt and recreate the living habits from the country they recently left behind. On the other hand, coming with a sojourner mentality, the immigrants of the mass migration resisted assimilation and made choices that reinforced their desire to return quickly to their home country. The fate of the Italian immigrants in New York and ultimately the fate of Mulberry district were strongly related to the conditions in the *paese* (Zucchi, 1988, p. 32). Recognizing the immigrants' cultural background, along with the motives of their departure is vital for understanding the evolution of the Italian Americans (Vecoli, 1978; Pozzetta, 1971). The following part of

the study presents several cultural traits that stay at the core of the Italian American identity.

Cultural traits: social stratification, campanilismo, and the famiglia

The vast majority of Italians who immigrated to America during the mass migration years (1870-1920) originated from the *Mezzogiorno* – the southern part of the Italian peninsula which comprised small, distinct regions such as Sicilia, Basilicata, and Campania. For centuries, the *Mezzogiorno* had been the most impoverished region from the peninsula (Pozzetta, 1971, p.1). Based on land ownership, *Mezzogiorno*'s rigid social stratification regulated every aspect of the southern Italian cultural environment, even across the Atlantic. From top to bottom in the social hierarchy, the *dons* or the *galantuomini* occupied the highest rank, along with professionals (doctors, lawyers), noblemen, landowners, and high rank clergy (Pozzetta, 1971, p.3; Alba, 1985, p.23). Down in the hierarchy there were the *artigiani*, involved in crafting and business. Further down there were the *contadini* and *paesani*, a stratum that included anyone who worked the land. Among them, the *giornalieri* comprised the day workers seeking seasonal employment. The *contadini* and the *giornalieri* comprised the majority of the *Mezzogiorno* immigrant wave (Alba, 1985, p.25). With limited possessions in the *paese*, these first immigrants from the peninsula came to America in search for temporary jobs that would allow them to return to the old country and acquire land.

Although the majority of southern inhabitants of the Italian peninsula were involved in agricultural work, they lived clustered in small towns, and worked the land

outside the town limits. The landscape of the *Mezzogiorno* was dotted with such small towns and villages that retained their medieval character of enclosed fortresses. Small towns were organized around a central piazza dominated by the church, whose tower – the *campanile* – overlooked the entire town. According to Alba, the sound of the *campanile*'s bell traced the limits of “the perceptible social boundary of a southern Italian world” (Alba, 1985, p.23). For the Mezzogiorno Italians, the universe stopped at the limits of its perceptibility. As Pozzetta observes, primitive transportation also contributed greatly to the maintaining of an isolated world defined by the town limits (Pozzetta, 1971, p. 2). Clustered in these isolated urban centers, the *contadini* developed strong attachments to their particular village. For southern Italians, a single village represented “more than a mere collection of living units; it was to a large extent the complete horizon of their lives” (Pozzetta, p.20). Outside the borders of the town, there was the rest of the world, populated by one kind of people, the strangers – or *forestieri* (Pozzetta, 1971, p. 2).

The term *campanilismo*, largely utilized across literature to define the southern Italians, expresses the limitation of the universe of the southern Italians by the sound of the bell of the *campanile*. Southern Italian *campanilismo* came with a baggage of distrust in everyone outside the family and friend circle. In the *Mezzogiorno* world, Italians identified themselves according to their place of origin, each community manifesting “well defined prejudices and animosities against each other” (Pozzetta, 1971, p.21).

The place of origin – or locality – played an important role in the lives of the *Mezzogiorno* inhabitants; despite its prominence in the defining of one's identity, locality

never overcame the power of the family – *or la famiglia* – in determining the social networking of the individual (Pozzetta, 1971, p. 23). As Alba observes, the *Mezzogiorno* society was in fact “a society of families, not individuals” (Alba, 1985, p. 30). At the base of the moral code of the *Mezzogiorno* laid the “family ethos,” a set of principles that endorsed the unconditional duty to serve the kinfolk (Alba, p. 31). Abiding the family rules prevailed over the interests of the individual, a principle which found its own expressions as carried by the immigrants into the new world.

The *campanilismo* mentality played a crucial role once Southern Italians immigrated to the United States. Following the chain migration pattern, newcomers of the mass migration settled where their neighbors and family previously had, thus using the common place of origin as a tool for self identification (Alba, 1985; Vecoli, 1978; Pozzetta, 1981). Late nineteenth and early twentieth century Mulberry District was a collection of small village clusters, very much in resonance with the *campanilismo* mentality of its inhabitants (Gabaggia, 1992; Pozzetta, 1981, p. 18).

The neighborhood’s fragmented social arena, consisting of a conglomerate of *Mezzogiorno* families, found its expression in the demographic distribution throughout the entire tenement district. Each tenement cluster, inhabited exclusively by the same kin represented a village, and was dominated by the regional culture in the old country. Living in these clusters allowed the first generations of Italian immigrants to relate to their regionalism and to state their kinship.

In terms of spatial distribution, both sides of Mulberry Street, from Canal to Broome, were occupied by people coming from villages around Naples, such as Padula,

Sant' Arsenio, Ricigliano, Sarno, and Teggiano. Elizabeth Street was taken over by Sicilians coming from villages like Misilmeri, Baucina, Girgenti, Catania, and Messina, while the block on Mott Street between Grand and Broome was occupied by Calabrians originating from San Donato di Ninea, Cosenza, and Cantazaro (p.18). Between 1897 and 1907, several hundred thousand Sicilians clustered along Mott Street and Grand in the three blocks intersected by Mulberry, Mott, and Elizabeth (Fig. 2). The inhabitants of each village attempted to recreate the living patterns of their homeland settings (p. 19).

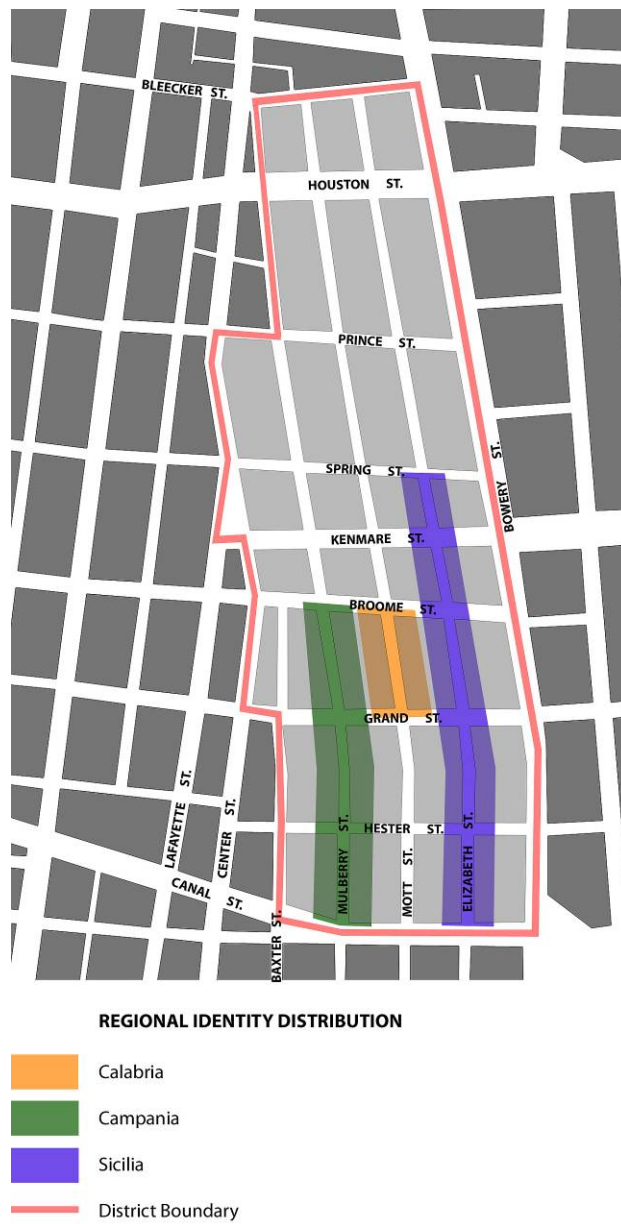


Figure 2 Regional Identity Distribution in Mulberry Distict

The Southern Italian identity on American land

The densely populated tenements of late nineteenth century Little Italy housed a multitude of small families, themselves clustered according to the place of origin. The groups, separated by their origin, language, prejudices, and customs, did not have a sense of common nationality. Rather, the old country *campanilismo* represented the overarching southern Italian identity, one based on the politics of division. For the first generation of Italian immigrants established in Little Italy at the end of the nineteenth century Italy did not represent the home country, but a “*matrigna* – or a step mother – who has driven them from home in search for bread and work “ (Vecoli, 1991). On the new continent, the old country concept of *forestieri* applied to all those outside the family circle. The exclusion of the outsiders greatly contributed to the isolation of Italian immigrants twofold, firstly from other Italian immigrants and secondly from the larger American society.

The sojourner mentality of the first immigrants also contributed to the isolation of the ethnic group from the larger society. The *Mezzogiorno* culture put a strong emphasis on landownership. With the constant idea of returning to Italy once the money for purchasing the land was available, Italian immigrants postponed actions like learning the language and acquiring citizenship (Alba, 1985; Vecoli, 1978; Pozzetta, 1971, 1981; Tricarico, 1984). Amidst mass migration, the Italian ethnic group recorded the highest rates of illiteracy, a contrasting situation relative to other contemporary immigrant groups, like Jews (Alba, 139). Generally, the first Italians did not speak English; they dismissed the American culture and rejected the social workers who were seen as

intruders in the sovereignty of the family. Moreover, the public's perception of Italian immigrants as of inferior race and low class excluded Italians from the mainstream American life (Tricarico, 1984, p. 76). Until World War I, Italians remained in low-paying, unskilled jobs. The response of *contadini* to discrimination and exploitation was deeper withdrawal within the security of the ethnic enclave. The isolation of Italian immigrants occurred from within the ethnic group (*Mezzogiorno* culture, sojourner mentality) and from outside the ethnic group (public perception).

Patterns of migration

The cultural background of the first immigrants countered heavily in establishing the first patterns of immigration. The location in the city, their occupation and the education of their children resulted from a process of adaptation – not equivalent to assimilation – to the host society. Closely linked to their homelands, the first Italian immigrants from the peninsula adapted their strong cultural baggage to the new world, without integrating into the mainstream society. Soon after the massive Southern Italian migration at the end of the nineteenth century, Manhattan's fourteenth ward became an ethnic enclave, governed by old country rules.

Pozzetta (1981) offered several explanations for the choice of *Mezzogiorno* immigrant workers to settle in Manhattan's tenement district. Firstly, despite the deplorable conditions of the tenement quarters, many of the newly arrived in the city found the proximity to the East River wharfs extremely advantageous for the availability of quick employment. The immigrants also preferred the closeness with *padroni*, or local

contractors who recruited low wage workers for jobs outside the city (Pozzetta, 1971, p.94). Secondly, the clustering with people of the same kind offered the newcomer a sense of security. The enclave provided the *Mezzogiorno* immigrant the opportunity for social interaction – impossible to attain in the segregated Italian south (Pozzetta, 71, p. 94).

Thompson (1991) stressed the importance of friendship and family ties among immigrants in the determining of patterns of settlement. As the first links of the chain migration, friends and family already established in the area offer prospective immigrants information about work opportunities and assistance. The chain migration practice fit the southern Italians perfectly, for friendship and family ties stood at the base of the *Mezzogiorno* world. On the other hand, the chain migration practice carried into the new world the burden of *campanilismo* – the politics of isolation – which reflected into the atomized social structure of the enclave (Thompson, 1991, p. 322). However, despite the weak liaisons between the extended southern Italian families, once Italian immigrants settled in the new world, they began to develop a sense of shared ethnicity, perhaps as a reaction to a new and hostile environment (p. 323). With respect to the pattern of settlement clustering, Italians did not differ from other immigrant groups, such as the neighboring Irish and Jews. However, unlike the strong, cohesive Irish and Jewish communities, Southern Italians appeared to represent “a hodge podge of often times mutually antagonistic rivals that went to extreme lengths to preserve their peculiar customs and traditions” (Pozzetta, 1971, p. 96). Late nineteenth and early twentieth century Mulberry district represented a conglomerate of enclaves.

The settlement patterns established by the first Southern Italians in New York during the mass migration grew out of several antagonistic forces: to begin with, the *Mezzogiorno campanilismo* acted as a strong dispersing force, and expressed itself in the atomized distribution of population according to the place of origin. As a counterbalance, the new ethnic identity which took shape in response to the new world acted as a centralizing force; the multitude of recreated Southern Italian villages of Mulberry district lived, in fact, under the same regional umbrella of the *Mezzogiorno*.

The Route Toward Assimilation: The Second Generation of Italian Immigrants During the Decline Phase (1930-1970)

Soon after 1920, the population of the fourteenth ward started to decrease. One of the most important factors in the decline of the enclave was the enactment of the Johnson Reed Act of 1924 that stopped the immigrant flow from eastern and southern Europe, while it encouraged immigration from northern Europe. The development of mass transportation represented another factor contributing to the emptying of the Italian enclave. Better housing and new employment opportunities in different areas of the city led to the “dilution” of Mulberry District as the main provider of employment for its inhabitants (Pozzetta, 1981, p. 28). With better wages, home ownership became an achievable goal, fulfilling the dream of the majority of southern Italian immigrants (Napoli, 2004). By the mid 1920s, many of the Italian immigrants coming to New York City chose to “by-pass” Manhattan’s Mulberry District. In search for better housing and

better jobs, the newly arrived settled in neighborhoods outside Manhattan Island, in Bronx, Queens, and Brooklyn (Gabaccia, 1997, p.235).

This accumulation of factors consequently led to a gradual emptying of the enclave. Around the 1930s the population of Italian descent fell to half of what it counted in 1910, at the peak of the development of the enclave. From 1922 to 1932 the percentage of empty buildings rose from 3.3 percent to almost 25 percent. However, by the mid 1930s, the population of Mulberry District remained overwhelmingly southern Italian (Gabaccia, 1997, Napoli, 2004). The emptying of the enclave continued constantly throughout the end of the 1930s and it accelerated after the end of WWII, as almost 50 percent of the entire Italian population from Manhattan and the larger New York area moved to suburbs (Napoli, 2004).

The postwar Italian flight to suburbs contained an important generational dimension. Antebellum Mulberry District saw the emergence of its second generation of immigrants of Italian descent. Already by 1920 the American born children outnumbered their parents, with many of them reaching maturity around the 1940s. These Italian Americans oscillated between the American and Southern Italian worlds and suffered a strong identity conflict. According to Vecoli, the identity of the second generation of Italian immigrants was a “mélange of Old World traits, workplace experiences, text book ideals, Hollywood dreams, and popular culture” (Vecoli, 1985, p. 95). The once fragmented southern Italian society established by the first generation of immigrants unified under the roof of Americanism. With the second generation of Italian immigrants, the ethnic solidarity of the *Mezzogiorno Campanilismo* expanded further than the

immediate friendship and family ties, and included people of other Italian families. As Tricarico observes, the second generation of Italian immigrants recast their ethnicity by tracing new ethnic boundaries between themselves and the rest of the American society (Tricarico, 1984, p. 79) The affinity for America that the second generation of Italians manifested contributed heavily to the transformation of Mulberry District from a southern Italian enclave into an Italian American neighborhood (Tricarico, p. 79).

The Second World War accelerated the process of integration of the second generation of Italian immigrants into the mainstream American society (Vecoli, 1985, p. 97). The second generation of Italian immigrants took full advantage of the post war economic boom, aiming to fulfill the American dream shoulder to shoulder with their American compatriots. Unlike their parents, the second generation of Italian Americans married outside their ethnic group, moved to suburbs, and enrolled in universities. Around mid 1950s, it seemed obvious that Italian Americans were engaged on the route towards assimilation into the mainstream society, thus meeting the *melting pot* predictions. With immigrants leaving for the suburbs and no new immigrants to replace them, old ethnic neighborhoods like New York's Little Italy emptied slowly, leaving room for other waves of immigrants (Napoli, 2004).

A crucial moment in the evolution of the Italian enclave included the passing of the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act that allowed unlimited south Asian immigration in the United States. The newly arrived Asian population preponderantly originating from the Southern China settled in the neighboring Chinatown, already heavily populated. Between 1966 and 1976 the Asian population of Chinatown grew fast, at a rate of 21 000 a year (Tobier,

1980). Originally clustered around Mott, Pell and Doyers streets, the Asian population steadily spread over the adjacent districts such as City Hall, Little Italy, and East Village. The Asian immigrants of the fast growing Chinatown moved into the available lofts of the already vacant Mulberry District and brought tremendous change in the demographic composition of the Italian enclave. By 1970, the population of Little Italy claiming Italian ancestry accounted for only nine percent of the entire population in the area. By contrast, the newly arrived Asian population accounted for 70 percent of the overall population (Wang, p. 73).

The *Risorgimento*: the Third Generation of Italian Immigrants and the Revival of Italian American Ethnic Identity (1970-present)

For several generations, Italians and Chinese coexisted side by side along Canal Street which functioned as the barrier between the enclaves. As post 1965 Chinatown expanded north of Canal Street, the Italians' fear of being pushed away rose. Amidst a larger American ethnic revival movement, the remaining American Italians living in the shrinking Mulberry District began expressing the need for preserving the ethnic character of the neighborhood that for several generations has represented "a home away from home" (Wang, 1980, p. 74). As a result, in 1974, several remaining members of the Italian Americans still living in Little Italy founded Little Italy Restoration Association (LIRA). The association's agenda, legitimized by its official status as a restoration movement included unmasked gentrifying proposals. The association's primary goal consisted firstly in the fighting against "the growing infiltration of other nationalities" in

the area (Napoli, 2004). The plan for restoration came second, and endorsed the need to “attack the neighborhood’s growing decay and the perceived loss of ethnic population” (Wang, 1980, p. 74).

With the support of the New York Planning Commission, LIRA established a *Risorgimento* plan to revitalize the historic core of Little Italy. The plan included the designation of the *Little Italy Special District* and proposals for the revitalization of Mulberry Street (Fig. 3). The overarching goal of the *Risorgimento* plan consisted in the *identifying, preserving and enhancing* of Little Italy’s “special qualities, so it can remain vital and viable” (Napoli, 2004).

Following LIRA’s *Risorgimento* plan, the NYC Planning Commission issued a carefully devised document which set the premises for the future development of the district. The document advanced seven points of focus which revolved around the specific goal of protection of the Italian identity of the area. The goals of the document included the preservation of the character of the community, the emphasizing of the commercial character of the area, the focus on pedestrian traffic, the rehabilitation of existing buildings, and the providing of green spaces. Specific design guidelines for Little Italy included first floor use regulations, height and setback regulations for new buildings, storefront design rules, signage regulations, landscaping strategies, as well as strategies for the rehabilitation of existing structures.

A part of the effort to revitalizing effort, the NYC Planning Commission officially denominated the neighborhood as “Little Italy.” In addition, the Commission traced the official boundaries of district, while completely disregarding the demographic

composition of the area. The designated *Little Italy Special District* consisted of the area between Canal Street to the south, The Bowery to the east, Bleecker Street to the north, and Baxter, Center, and Lafayette Streets to the west. The district included four sections: *The Houston Street Corridor*, *The Bowery*, *Canal and Kenmare Corridor*, and *The Mulberry Street Regional Spine*, itself part of the larger *Preservation Area* (Wang, 1980, p. 75). LIRA and the Planning Commission concentrated upon preserving the four blocks on the Mulberry Street Spine, between Canal and Broome Streets. The plan focused on the creating of a street *ambiente* charged with Italian ethnic identity (Napoli, 2004). The results of the preservation efforts materialized soon after the publicizing of the plan. Between 1975 and 1981, 15 new restaurants opened on Mulberry Street, while others were renovated. By early 1980, Mulberry Street bloomed with new business and street life (Napoli, 2004).

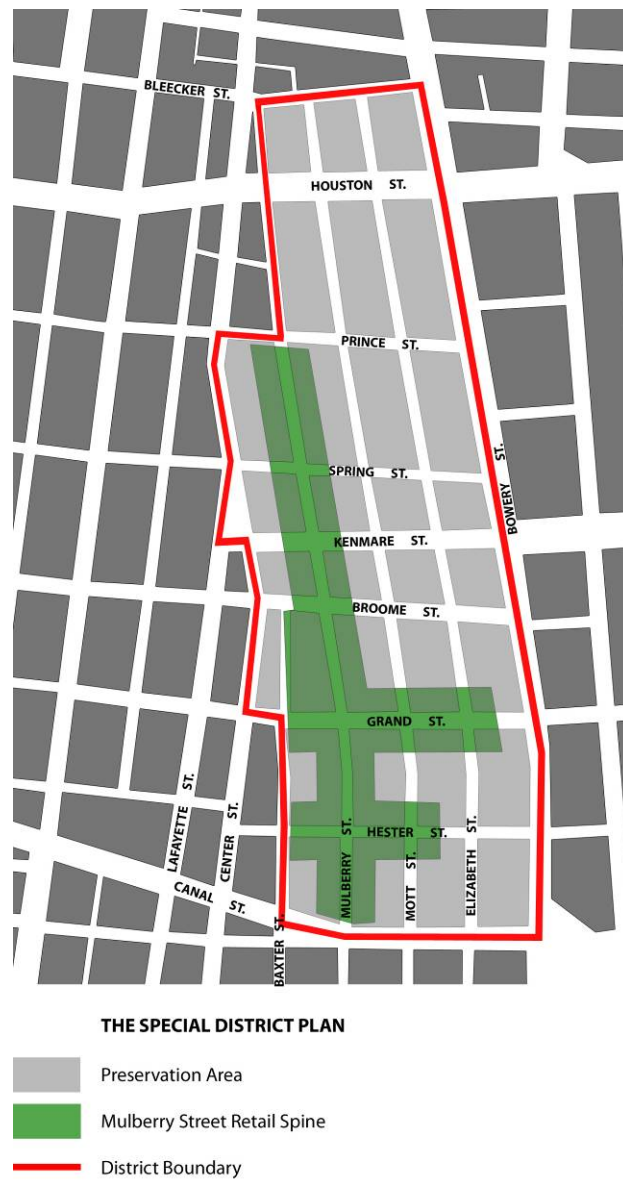


Figure 3 Little Italy Special District

It is vital to understand the *Risorgimento* as a local manifestation of a larger ethnic revival movement, which by the 1960s included the entire spectrum of ethnic groups in the United States. Alba (1985) identified several forces behind the Italian American resurgence. Firstly, the Civil Rights Movement inspired all Americans to

reevaluate the ethnic diversity of the society (Alba, 1985, p. 7). In the context of intense preoccupation with racial affirmative actions, ethnic difference acquired the status of moral currency. Like many other ethnic groups, Italian Americans looked at their ethnic difference as a pass for claiming rights (Alba, p. 72). Secondly, the spur of the civil rights movement coincided with the emergence within Italian Americans of the third generation of immigrants; among them, a large group of scholars and artists focused on the study and portrayal of the Italian immigrant experience in the US (Alba, 1985 p. 7; Vecoli, 1988, p. 145). Feeling “secure in their American-ness,” the third generation of Italian Americans was able to search for new ways to reaffirm the ethnic identity of their grandparents. Lastly, the expansion of neighboring Chinatown into the historic core of Mulberry District awoke the Italian Americans’ awareness of the imminent loss of its ethnic character. The old neighborhood became a symbol of ethnicity and a means for reaffirmation of Italian American identity. Thus, the redefinition of the Italian American identity in the 1970s was closely linked to the endangered ethnic identity of the neighborhood, in the context of the massive influx of Asian immigrants north of Canal Street (Napoli, 2004).

The transformation of Little Italy from a decaying neighborhood to symbol of Italian-ness in the United States also resonated with the ways in which Italian Americans of the third generation shaped their quest to find their ethnic identity. As Tricarico (1984) observes, the scholars of Italian Americans studies who emerged from the third generation of immigrants played a crucial role in providing the appropriate “symbols” to an Italian American community eager to reaffirm its role in the American society

(Tricarico, 1984, p. 81). The promoters of this new kind of ethnicity identified several “motifs” of identity that the Italian Americans of the third generation choose to embrace amidst the Ethnic Revival Movement of the 1960s (Aversa, 1978). As romanticized versions of the immigrant experience of the first generation of immigrants, these motifs of ethnic identity situated themselves at the border between fiction and fact. With newly created identity motifs such as the *Renaissance* and the *Contadino*, the Italian American immigrant past once dominated by family ethos and rivalries received a whole new face unified under the signs of arts and of peasant culture.

The *Renaissance motif* gained popularity among the upward mobile Italian Americans, who found Italian Renaissance a source of affirming personal elevation and superior social status. In the “august company” of Dante, Botticelli, and DaVinci, the Italian Americans aimed at rising above “the squalor and depravation of Italian American enclaves and its inhabitants” (Aversa, 1978, p. 51). The *Renaissance motif* was enthusiastically embraced by Italo-American organization for which the “luminaries of Renaissance” became their “totems” (Aversa, p. 52).

By contrast, the *Contadino motif* endorsed the appreciation of the peasant roots of the majority of the Italian immigrants. In the context of the 1970s ethnic resurgence, going back to the “thickness” of Italian tradition became a fashionable endeavor (Aversa, 1978, p. 52). For the third generation of Italian Americans in search for ethnic identity, embracing the *Contadino motif* proved to be less difficult than adopting the Renaissance path; the ancestral *Contadino* life brought to the old country by the first immigrants at the beginning of the century seemed to linger in a modified form in the life of the urban

community. The *Contadino* path brought to the fore the importance of the physical environment as an active ingredient in the re-affirmation of ethnicity, for the augmentation of the ethnic symbols of the neighborhood could reflect the rich history of the immigrant experience. To be sure, the *Contadino motif* represented a highly romanticized version of how life in the *Mezzogiorno* really was. As Aversa observes, the world of a *Mezzogiorno* Italian immigrant was far from an “idyllic, sun-drenched place, with countrymen working fertile lands, loving beautiful women and joyous children gathered around sumptuous meals,” but one dominated by suspicion, rivalries, and hardship (Aversa, p. 52).

Over time, the changes that Mulberry District experienced in its demographics and its physical appearance resonated with changes in the ethnic identity of several generations of Italian immigrants. From the beginning of the twentieth century until the present, Mulberry District changed its nature and appearance. A vital ethnic neighborhood booming with commercial and social life at the beginning of the century then a decaying district in the post WWII era, the district saw a reversal of its fortune brought about by the rise of a strong Italian ethnic pride, as a reverberation of the larger civil rights movement. The preservation actions initiated by LIRA in 1974 focused on the accentuating the signs of ethnicity on Mulberry Street, in order to emphasize the resilience of Italian-ness in the area. Today’s Mulberry Street, the commercial spine of Little Italy, reflects the signs of a new ethnicity shaped by cultural motifs, popular culture, and consumerism.

The Italian ethnic group confirms Hansen's law (1948) which identifies patterns of behavior vis-à-vis the evolution of ethnic identity over subsequent generations of immigrants. The strong cultural luggage of the first immigrants in the beginning of the twentieth century found rejection from the second generation, while later being enthusiastically embraced by the third and fourth generations. Ratner and Buenker (1992) call the new identity "hyphenated," as it takes elements from both the old and the new culture (Ratner and Buenker, p.4).

CHAPTER III

SCHOLARSHIP ON ETHNIC LANDSCAPES AND LANDSCAPE ASSESSMENT

Ethnicity on the Land

This study focused on the street as a milieu of expressing and shaping ethnic identity. Little Italy's Mulberry Street represented an ideal testing ground for the hypothesis of this study. To begin with, ever since the period of mass migration until the end of the Second World War, Mulberry Street has reassured its position as the commercial spine of the enclave. Although the Italian Americans' dispersal to suburbs diminished its vitality over time, Mulberry Street has constantly symbolized the essence of the Italian American experience in the United States (Napoli, 2004). The preservation actions triggered by the *Risorgimento* Movement during the 1970s reaffirmed Mulberry Street as the geographic and ideological core of Little Italy and of Italian-ness in the United States. As Gabaccia (1997) observed in her study dedicated to Sicilian immigrants in New York at the beginning of the century, the street played an active role in the shaping of ethnic identity; similarly to the old country, the neighborhood street – the public realm – represented an extension of the private, tenement house.

The following part of the study looks at several strategies of understanding the multitude of factors shaping culturally charged landscapes. The literature review presents Borchert's (1986) and Cohen's (1986) approaches in understanding the changing environment according to the cultural background of its users. Furthermore, the chapter

presents studies on the assessment of ethnic landscapes, conducted by Cullen (1961), Clay (1973) and Lai (1990). The literature review also discusses Shaw's (2004) concept of "spatial culture," a notion that endorses the reading of the city two fold, both as a physical and a social entity.

According to Hayden (1997), the everyday landscape of an ethnic neighborhood – its tenements, streets, and workplaces – represents an incredibly rich source for understanding the "texture" of immigrant experience in the United States (Hayden, 1997, p. 111). Studying how ethnicity impacts the everyday landscape means revealing the importance of people's cultural background in the shaping of environment. In Hayden's vision, along with a considered analysis of the physical attributes of the environment, the interpretation of the everyday landscape of the neighborhood needs to focus on the *process of social construction of space*, defined by Setha Low as a process "reserved for the phenomenological and symbolic experience of space as mediated by social processes such as exchange, conflict, and control" (Shaw, 2004, p. 7).

Borchert (1986) and Cohen (1986) share Hayden's approach to the understanding of ethnic landscapes. Besides analyzing the physical features of the built environment, both authors focus on the process of social construction of space, a process through which the inhabitants transform the space and further attach symbolic meaning to it. In their studies on Washington alleys and New York tenements respectively, both authors link the transformation of the built environment to the cultural background of its users. Similarly to this study, the authors focus their researches on modifications to the built environment brought about by users who did not control their design. Borchert's and

Cohen's studies demonstrate the divergence between prescribed and used space. The authors use the typology of the building as a tool that makes possible the identification of specific cultural traits which bring changes in the prescribed environment. By keeping the typology of building as a referential point, the alterations of space reveal themselves as imprints of a collective behavior based on common cultural beliefs. Both Borchert's and Cohen's studies are valuable resources to the present research for the use of historic photographs in the assessment of change in the built environment.

In his study on Washington alleys, Borchert looks at the public setting – the alley – as a socio-cultural construct rather than a leftover space between buildings. Susceptible to change in its meanings over time according to its users' cultural background, the public space is viewed as a dynamic urban feature rather than a static environment. For Borchert, the changing relation between the private realm inside of the apartments and the public sphere of the alley reflect concomitant changes in the cultural background of the users. The change over time of mediation strategies between private and public realms underlie changes in concepts of separation, community, and controlled access.

Borchert's study is valuable for the present research for offering an analysis on the role of objects in the construction of space, for objects can change their significance once used in a new setting. For example, by bringing couches outside their houses, the southern black inhabitants changed the character of the alleys from public to private; in turn, the couches changed their significance, from objects of private use to decks in the public view, ideal for observing and being observed. Borchert's study is also valuable for understanding continuity of space amidst change of time. Similarly to the present

research, the author looks at the same urban space used in different time periods by different social groups; his research shows that the back alley space varied dramatically in meaning over time, while its physical character remained fundamentally unaltered. In Borchert's view, the "completed" landscape includes the built environment, the behavior of its users, and the significance they attribute to the space.

Borchert's view of "completed landscape" resonates with Shaw's "spatial culture," a notion that equates with the entire array of "social constructions behind spatial practices" (Shaw, 2004, p. 7). In Shaw's view, the *spatial culture* of the city contains its *physical dimension* in the form of "the static, formal arrangement of buildings and lots and street patterns," as well as its *human dimension*, defined by the multitude of "ways in which people used (or were inhabited from using) that space functionally, socially, and culturally" (p. 7). Combined, the physical and the human dimensions of the city create the *spatial culture*, or the array of "organizational principles that govern urban space" (p. 7). The notion of *spatial culture* is particularly relevant for the present study for recognizing physical space as an active agent in the social construction of space – the symbolic investment of space through phenomenal experience and through social practices. In Shaw's words, the concept of *spatial culture* "acknowledges the ways that human behavior can challenge or reinforce the meaning of physical space within the city" (p. 7). The present research looked at Mulberry Street as a multilayered landscape whose physical attributes remained fairly unaltered over time, while the significance of space changed according to changes in the social practices of its users.

In her study of the material culture of late nineteenth and early twentieth century immigrants in New York, Cohen discusses the dichotomy between the prescribed and the actual use of objects and spaces. Using photographs as evidence, the author identifies patterns of changes that the immigrants brought to their tenement living quarters, in accord with their ethnic background. Within the context of the immigrants' new home, spaces and objects acquire new meanings which are hybrid versions of old world traits and new world prescriptions. Cohen's built environment resonates with Borchert's notion of "complete landscape," one which contains a layering of user behaviors, cultural traits, and physical attributes.

Cohen uses visual archaeology as a method to recreate the environment where evidence is missing. The author interprets the alterations of spaces and objects appearing in photographs as acts of personal pride and triumph for the newly arrived immigrants in America amidst the severe economic conditions of the beginning of the century. Her study is relevant to the present research for the use of visual archaeology as a method to reconstitute past environments. In Cohen's case, the photographic evidence fills the gap between the social workers' probate inventories – written assessment on the conditions of the space – and the prescriptive literature indicating the proper use of space, in accord with the domestic ideals of the time. Cohen's study is also valuable for introducing a method to distinguish old country traits from new concepts and ideas that the immigrants of the first generation adopted on American land. Most importantly, by studying the first generation of immigrants, the author can assess the process of constructing Borchert's "complete landscape" twofold: firstly, the newly arrived immigrants modify the built

environment according to their strong old country culture. In turn, the prescribed environment imposes a specific behavior of using the space.

In their studies, Cohen and Borchert evince the power of the users to alter behaviorally and symbolically the built environment in order to accommodate specific cultural needs. The southern blacks inhabiting Washington's alley dwellings and immigrant workers occupying New York's tenements transformed the spaces, and used them according to their cultural needs. Viewing space as a process rather than a product represents a valuable approach for the present study. The Italian immigrants who settled in Little Italy at the beginning of the twentieth century did not use the tenements and the streets passively, but altered them behaviorally, thus participating directed in the social construction of these spaces. Successively, the collective behavior of each generation of immigrants used the physical landscape of Mulberry Street to construct distinctive social landscapes, while investing it with distinct meanings. The process of social construction of space did not occur through the major alteration of Mulberry Street's physical attributes, but through the symbolic use of the street.

Landscape Assessment

In Borchert's vision, the "completed" landscape can only be understood twofold: socially and architecturally. Hayden also stresses the importance of two dimensions of analysis in the case of the physical attributes of ethnic neighborhoods: one based on the social construction of space, and another one focused on the analysis of the physical attributes of the space. The following part of the literature review describes

methodologies employed by Cullen (1961), Clay (1973), and Lai (1990), in the study of the physical attributes of the “completed” landscape.

Cullen (1961) argues for an *art of relationships* between the elements of the environment, such as buildings, trees, nature, and advertisement. The art of relationships makes up for the *drama of the environment*. Cullen supports the reading of the cityscape both through its elements and through the relationships between them. Such understanding of the cityscape endorses a critical approach to the act of seeing which occurs through *vision* – one’s capacity to look beyond the surface of the object into the realm of memories and experiences. According to Cullen, such analysis of the environment through vision produces several kinds of emotional reactions that concern *optics, place, and content* (Cullen, 1961, p.11).

The *optic perception* of the townscape is achieved through movement in space; pedestrian motion at uniform speed reveals the scenery of the town in a “series of jerks and elevations” that make up for *serial vision* – the juxtaposition and the manipulation of scenery. According to Cullen’s study, the manipulation of serial vision excites human imagination that in turn transforms the “blind facts” of the image into a “coherent drama” (p. 12). The notion of *place* concerns one’s body position in the environment. In the process of perceiving the environment, the *consciousness of place* refers to the feeling of being *here* versus *there*. As Cullen observes, the manipulation between *here* and *there* creates the most successful townscapes (p. 12). The *content* category refers to the multitude of components that make up the fabric of the town: color, texture, scale, style, character, personality, and uniqueness (p. 13). Cullen argues for variation and non

conformity of the content elements of the town, for contrast and variation create harmony and individuality of the townscape.

Especially relevant to this study is Cullen's chapter dedicated to the understanding of the process of appropriation of urban space (p. 21). The author identifies several "forms of possession" of the urban territory: *static possession*, *possession in movement*, *advantage* and *viscosity*. These forms of appropriation of urban space can be encouraged by the use of devices or "artifacts" of possession, such as shade, shelter, enclaves, enclosures, focal points, and precincts. The portion of Cullen's study which discusses the notions of what *here* and *there* represents is also significant for the present study (p. 29, 35). Cullen illustrates how looking at bordering devices and strategies of appropriating space helps in understanding the process of sensing differentiation between spaces. Moreover, Cullen identifies devices of visual and physical connection between *near* and *remote*. He uses the term *netting* to refer to a system of visual linking devices based on perspective. The juxtaposition of images acts as a device for blurring the border between near and remote, thus linking *here* to *there* (p. 39).

The legibility of the American cityscape is also discussed by Clay (1973). The author uses the term *epitome district* to describe the special places within urban space that carry layers of symbols, history, and emotions (p. 38). Clay bases his qualitative cityscape assessment method on Cullen's study on the visual impact of the cityscape on the creating of the urban living sense. In Clay's vision, an epitome district generates metaphors, and has the potential to express the essence of the history of the place. Such districts offer the most convincing evidence of present and future change. The epitome

district is a place that encourages the observing and the practicing of symbolic activities, such as folk festivals, religious or secular parades, funerals and caravans.

Clay points out the role of *identity markers* in the formation of post 1960 epitome districts. Under the assumption that local identity can be a valuable exchanging good in the tourist trade, government officials and local developers encouraged the cliché space meant to display old-refurbished and new-fabricated identities. As Clay observes, cities got engaged in “fabulation – the art of fable making,” a process of reinvention that endorses the reconsideration of former identities (p. 63). The advertisement of the renewed identity through media, through new buildings or through the refurbishing of the existent, and through the organization of events played a huge role in the process of fabricating a believable identity of place. Toponymy, for example, became a frequent practice in promoting the newly refurbished identity to tourists. District names like “Old Town,” “Old Salem,” “Frontierland,” or “Vacation Village” became necessary ingredients in the process of spicing up old identities, and contributed to the 1960s craze of myth making.

Clay’s study is particularly relevant to this research for suggesting several elements of analysis helpful for the comprehending epitome districts such as Little Italy. Clay identifies a series of indicators that define the new epitome districts: name; visible and official boundaries or boundary zone; local history illustrated through tourist maps, flyers, and booklets; mythology; district core; symbolic entrances; signs and symbols; street celebrations (p. 64). Clay calls to attention the confusion resulting from the complex mixture of original, “old style puffery” and fabricated elements destined to

tourist consumerism. Heavily charged with visual information, an epitome district can be explained through the use of signs, symbols, architecture, and lighting. Still, the understanding of such an environment demands “constant vigilance” in order to decant the genuine identity from its fabricated version. To see beyond the components of the environment, and thus comprehend the environment’s existential meaning, imposes the direct participation of the observer to the scene, his movement through the space and the penetration of the visual information below its skin (p. 65).

Lai’s study of American Chinatown also suggests methods of visual reading of culturally charged place like ethnic enclaves. In his research, Lai (1990) uses Cullen’s definition of townscape which emphasizes an aesthetic-qualitative approach towards the assessment of the built landscape. Lai’s analysis is based on visual perception, achieved partly by direct observation and partly by evaluating the observation through a frame of knowledge and experience.

Lai recognizes several types of Chinatowns in the United States – Old, Relict, Replaced, New, and Reconstructed, each of them differing in terms of land use patterns, demographics, and cityscape. Lai focuses on assessing the cityscape of Old Chinatowns, ethnic neighborhoods dating before the Second World War, characterized by a large concentration of Chinese population, distinct types of land use, and distinct visual elements. Lai identifies a series of architectural elements that form the cityscape of an old Chinatown. The *exterior façade* represents the most important element in the creating the sense of place. In Lai’s analysis, the façade is broken down in a series of elements that contribute to the visual reading of the ethnicity. The author looks first at *architectural*

features like recessed balconies and extended eaves, borrowed from the ethnic architecture and uncommon to other buildings situated outside Chinatown. Secondly, he looks at *ethnic decorative elements* such as lanterns, dragons, plant motifs, lattice work along with traditional color schemes – gold and red – which express Chinese ethnicity on the land. Lai also looks at *signage*, pointing out to decisions of fonts design hinting Chinese vertical lettering. Besides architectural features that convey ethnicity, other elements such as size, scale, and density affect the perception of place. The size and the scale of the buildings and of the streets contribute to the generating of a sense of “scenic integration and visual satisfaction” (p. 92). The density of buildings, the signboards, the sidewalks, the street furniture and the merchandise give visual clues about an ethnic place such as Chinatown.

The “completed” landscape can only be interpreted twofold, through the analysis of its physical attributes as well as through the understanding of its underlying social and cultural dimensions. The studies conducted by Shaw, Borchert, Cohen, Cullen, Clay, and Lai represent valuable resources for the present research for offering methodologies that cover both dimensions of analysis of ethnic places. Mulberry Street’s streetscape can be understood both through the analysis of the physical characteristics of the built environment and through the analysis of the special set of relations that Italian immigrants established with the built environment. The multi-dimensional analysis of the built environment might reveal the ethnic group’s distinctive approach to create space.

Preservation and Symbolic Ethnicity

The existent literature on the Italian experience in the US has focused on the evolution of the Italian American identity from a historical perspective. Changes in identity have been related to changes in social structure and upward mobility. The vast literature on Italian ethnicity omitted one of the most important expressions of ethnicity, the built environment. The ethnic group identifies with the enclave, for the enclave represents the ideal setting for practicing ethnicity on a daily basis. The ethnic enclave is a stage for manifesting conspicuously ethnic identity, and the realm where *us* is distinguished by *them*. The many faces that the built environment of Little Italy acquired during a century of its existence express changes over time in the Italian American ethnic identity, from *campanilismo* to symbolic ethnicity (Napoli, 2004). Analyzing changes in the streetscape of Little Italy's Mulberry Street means also revealing the missing link of understanding a century of evolution of Italian American ethnicity in its built environment.

The preservation movement that sparked in the 1960s brought with it a crusade for saving diversity and the character of place. In the case of Little Italy, preservation provided tools for expressing ethnicity even in the absence of the ethnic group, thus leading to the creation of what Gans called *symbolic space*. Preservation actions fabricated a "new ethnicity" that responded to contemporary needs for displaying ethnicity, both from within the ethnic group and from outside by the larger society. Ironically, the aim of preserving uniqueness resulted in creating the ordinary. The post 1970s preserved Mulberry Street became a "consumption site," catering to tourists and to

transient clientele (Alba, 1985). The enclave became the stage where “weekend ethnicity” (or symbolic ethnicity) is practiced. The present study is relevant for discussing the role of preservation in delivering symbols that make up such symbolic spaces.

The importance of ethnic places for American urban landscape history has been recognized by a great number of scholars. Among them, Hayden (1990) acknowledged the significance of urban vernacular buildings and ethnic neighborhoods for understanding the history of ethnic groups. Identifying, preserving, and interpreting such places is a daunting task that requires the collaboration of urban planners, historians, cultural geographers, and specialists of vernacular architecture. The present study contributes to the interpretation of an ethnic place like New York’s Little Italy, rich in history and built content. By analyzing the impact of ethnic identity on Mulberry Street’s streetscape, the study also contributes to the larger body of research on the manifestation of ethnicity on the landscape.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the study consisted in connecting changes in the ethnic landscape with changes in the cultural identity of its users. The study used Borchert's approach of public space as a dynamic feature recording cultural change, while subsequently being modified by its users (Borchert, 1986). The public space – the street – was approached as an extension of the private space, susceptible to change in its meaning with new users. Similarly to Borchert's study, the present research looked at the array of relationships that different groups of people with distinct cultural backgrounds established with the same built environment. By looking at the street activity on Mulberry Street during the *Flourishing* and the *Revival* phases, the study identified patterns of using the space employed by each generation of immigrants. Furthermore, the study identified ways in which the altered environment contributed to the redefinition of the ethnic identity of Italian Americans. Comparing and contrasting patterns of using public space showed distinct strategies that each generation of immigrants employed in the process of constructing the space. These distinct strategies of using and constructing Mulberry's street space reflected changes in the ethnic identity of Italian immigrants, from regional Southern Italians to Italian Americans.

The photographic analysis relied on Cohen's method of visual archaeology based historic photographs. Cohen's study was particularly relevant for the present study for

introducing a method to analyze specific relations that people establish with objects and spaces. Although focused on interiors – hence the private realm – Cohen’s study was important for determining the role of objects and spaces in the process of place-making. Similarly, the present research approached the built environment – the street – as an object, itself filled with objects. The built environment was understood as an active ingredient in the process of shaping the identity of its users.

The analysis of post 1974 Little Italy used Clay’s approach to comprehend the *fabricated* versus the *genuine* within the built environment. For Clay, the direct experience and the immersing into the environment reveal the “unmapped,” thus making up for a subjective, personal assessment. Clay’s method, similar to Cullen’s qualitative assessment of landscape through vision applied to the analysis of the present day Little Italy, a place that uncovers itself only through direct participation.

In addition to the content analysis, the interpretation of the streetscape also took into account the author’s in situ photographic data collection. The fieldwork conducted by the author of this research spread over a three days period, between the 11th and the 13th of October, 2004. The area of analysis included the entire officially designated Little Italy, bounded by Canal Street on the south, Centre and Lafayette Streets to the west, East Houston to the north, and the Bowery to the east. The aim of the field work consisted in observing the *streetscapes* of the district, with special focus on the Preservation Area – the three block portion of Mulberry Street between Canal and Broome Streets. Through the lens of the camera, the author aimed at capturing the *street activity* as well as recording components of the *built environment*. Strategies of recording of the streetscape

included taking pictures of the street facades both in frontal view, as well as in angle view.

Justification

The following study approached Mulberry Street as a “completed” landscape, one which according to Borchert unfolds in two dimensions: one containing its physical attributes, and one which includes its history and its culture. The study identified patterns of changes in the streetscape of Mulberry Street during two distinct periods of time. Furthermore, the study looked at ways in which each generation used the built environment according to distinct cultural traits, in order to display and redefine their ethnic identity. The study also evaluated the process of social construction of street space, specific for the first and the third generation of Italian immigrants. Distinct strategies in the use and in the construction of Mulberry Street conveyed changes in the ethnic identity of each generational group.

It was the assumption of this study that the street, as a crucial public space in the Italian culture, is susceptible to cultural changes, and it is modified subsequently. Under this assumption, the changes in time of Mulberry Street’s streetscape have recorded and reflected modifications in the ethnic identity of Italian Americans. Another assumption of this study was the representativeness of Neapolitans – the main occupants of Mulberry Street during the *Flourishing* Phase – for the entire Southern Italian community. While acknowledging the regional character of the group, the generalization is largely employed throughout the literature on Italian Americans. Major scholars of Italian American studies

like Pozzetta, Vecoli, and Alba refer to Neapolitans, Sicilians and Calabrians as part of the *Mezzogiorno* group, without overlooking their regional diversity. The present study considered the presence of Neapolitans on Mulberry Street as a representative phenomenon for the entire Southern Italian immigrant community that settled in Little Italy during the *Flourishing* Phase.

Through visual analysis the study identified generalities in the streetscape of Mulberry Street for two periods of development, *Flourishing* (1910-1940) and *Revival* (1974-present). The study compared and contrasted patterns of change within the streetscape corresponding to each development phase and interpreted these changes in the context of changing Italian American identity. Furthermore, the study identified each generation's distinctive approach to modify and use space. Ultimately, the study identified how the modified space of the street impacted in turn the ethnic identity of its users.

Little Italy's Mulberry Street represented an excellent testing ground for the hypothesis of this study for several reasons. In the first place, the street has continuously represented the center of Italian-ness in New York. Secondly, the built environment of Mulberry Street remained fairly unaltered over time. The tenement building typology, although showing interior spatial variations, offers continuous fronts consistent throughout the length of the street, and thus creates a homogenous streetscape. The buildings' homogeneity in space and time is extremely appropriate for the present research, as it allows cross comparison over time. Thirdly, New York occupies a special place in the history of Italian immigration in the US, as it magnetized the greatest

concentration of Italian migration at the end of the nineteenth century. Between 1890 and 1900, the port of New York received almost 89 percent of all Italians coming to the US (Pozzetta, 1981). Lastly, the Italian ethnic group is suitable for the study of persistence and revival of ethnic identity. According to Alba (1985), those who argue for the revival of ethnicity refer to Italian Americans in order to support their theories, for Italians manifested solidarity among their ethnic communities and thus retained a strong old country identity via family values (Alba, 1985, p. 136).

The study assumed a chronology based on generational components, a practice employed throughout the entire literature on Italian Americans by scholars like Vecoli, Pozzetta, and Alba. The life of the enclave was divided into three phases of development that coincided with the impact of the first immigrant generation and the emergence of the second and the third generations. The *Flourishing*, *Decline*, and *Revival* phases correspond with shifts in demographics within the Mulberry District. The first phase of *Flourishing* (1900-1940) coincides with the maturity of the first generation of immigrants; the second phase of *Decline* (1930-1960) coincides with the emergence and the maturity of the second generation, while the third phase of *Revival* (1960-present) is attributed to the third and fourth generations.

The study compared and contrasted streetscape generalities for the *Flourishing phase* and the *Revival phase*. The *Decline* phase was excluded from analysis for one important reason. Firstly, between the 1930s and 1970 Italian immigrants of the second generation went successively through different sub-phases of identity: late 1930s *nationalism* originating in Italian Fascism, and post Second World War Americanization

which derived from assimilation in the mainstream society. The rapid change in ethnic identity during the decline period did not allow for major changes in the streetscape of Mulberry Street that could allow for generalizations. Starting with late 1930s until the first preservation actions of the *Risorgimento* movement in 1974, the built environment of Mulberry Street changed at a slow pace.

Resources

Photographs have been provided by the researcher, by the Center of Migration Studies, the Library of Congress American Memory website, and the New York Public Library online collection. The selection of photographs was based on time frame, area of analysis, subject, and visibility of details.

The *time frame* was dictated by the three periods of development of the enclave. The analysis focused on interpreting photographs dating from the *Flourishing* and the *Revival* periods. The limited number of pre 1930 images required the extension of the area of analysis to the entire length of Mulberry Street. The consistent width of the street along with the ubiquity of the tenement type which created consistent front facades, justified the generalization. Photographs during the *Revival* period were selected according to the address of the building. Images were selected from the three block preserved area between Broome and Canal Streets, the portion of Mulberry Street which displays the greatest concentration of signs of symbolic ethnicity. The *subject* also influenced the selection of photographs. Images displaying the street life, architectural details, and storefronts were selected. Images showing religious ceremonies taking place

on Mulberry Street were selected to illustrate the exceptional transformation of the environment.

The analysis of the streetscape during the *Flourishing* phase was based on the visual evidence offered by 21 photographs dating between 1900 and 1931. Photographs were organized into three groups. The first group contained six black and white images showing close ups of the sidewalk and commercial activity on Mulberry Street (Fig 4). The photographs were relevant for illustrating the practice of street vending. They indicated the types of vending devices, their positioning on the sidewalk, the array of vending goods, and the relation between the vendor and the client. The photographs also included storefronts details and show some lettering and signage. The first group of six photographs was relevant for showing the size of a vending device and its impact on the scale of the sidewalk. The second group of photographs, dating around 1929, included seven black and white images showing the transformation of Mulberry Street during religious festivals (Fig.5). The photographs were significant for illustrating ways in which Neapolitans adorned their buildings during their most prominent celebration, San Gennaro. The third group of photographs, consisting of four images, showed general views of Mulberry Street (Fig. 6). Three of them dated circa 1900, while the fourth dated 1931. The photographs were mostly important for showing the street activity, uses of the street and of the sidewalks, as well as the positioning of vending carts in relation to the street, to the sidewalk, and to each other.

Figures 10, 11, 12, 19, 20, and 21 belong to the Detroit Publishing Company, one of the largest publishers of photographic postcards in the United States at the beginning

of the twentieth century. The company produced greeting postcards featuring images of American landscapes, American city life, buildings, transportation, daily life, and art work. Figures 13-14, 15, 16-18, and 22-24 are attributed to Percy Loomis Sperr, a New York photographer whose interest focused on capturing the changing face of the city during the 1930s. Sperr photographed extensively street scenes, with special focus on buildings and infrastructure.



Figure 4. *Italian Market Mulberry Street, NY (1900-1910).* The Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy of The Library of Congress, American Memory (Fig. A2, Appendix A).



Figure 5. *Mulberry Street- Hester Street* (September 21, 1929) Percy Loomis Sperr. Courtesy of The New York Public Library (Fig. A11-13, Appendix A).



Figure 6. *Italian Neighborhood with Street Market, Mulberry Street, NY* (1900-1910) The Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy of The Library of Congress, American Memory (Fig A19, Appendix A)

The analysis of Mulberry Street's streetscape during the *Revival* phase was based on the visual evidence offered by 62 photographs taken by the author in October 2004. The area of analysis comprised the portion of Mulberry Street delimited by Canal and Broome Streets. The photographs were selected from a collection of 211 images taken from the entire Little Italy area. The photographs were organized into four categories, according to subject. The first group of photographs consisted of 25 images that showed storefront elevations (Fig. 7). The group included images of restaurants and other businesses. The second group of photographs consisting of 12 images, showed views of facades taken at an angle, thus illustrating the concept of serial vision (Fig. 8). The third category, including 19 images, focused on architectural details, windows display and signage outdoor furniture, and street furniture (Fig. 9). Photographs belonging to the fourth category included six images and illustrate doors and windows treatments (Fig. 10).



Figure 7. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Image representative for group A. Researcher's collection (Fig. B13, Appendix B)



Figure 8. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Image representative for group B. Researcher's collection (Fig. B39, Appendix B)



Figure 9. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Image representative for group C. Researcher's collection (Fig. B54, Appendix B)



Figure 10. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Image representative for group C. Researcher's collection (Fig B58, Appendix B)

Method

Through visual analysis the study identified generalities in the streetscape of Mulberry Street for two periods of development, *Flourishing* (1910-1940) and *Revival* (1974-present). The study compared and contrasted patterns of change within the streetscape corresponding to each development phase and interpreted these changes in the context of changing Italian American identity. Furthermore, the study identified each generation's distinctive approach to modify space. Ultimately, the study identified how the modified space of the street impacted in turn the ethnic identity of its users.

Generalizations of the streetscape relied upon Cullen's methodology of qualitative assessment of townscapes through vision (Cullen, 1961). For the scope of the present

study, the term *streetscape* was defined as the physical space whose two main components are *built environment* and *street activity*. The assessment of specific uses of space and of objects in space was based on Borchert's study of social construction of space. The *built environment* was understood as consisting of architectural elements and street furniture. The elements of architecture were identified using Lai's methodology for assessing the cityscape of Old Chinatowns and consisted of architectural details, apertures, materials, signage, window transparency, entrances, objects-signage, and recessed and projected features (Lai, 1990). The elements of urban furniture consisted of streetlight systems, hydrant poles, permanent seating elements, and greenery. The analysis of architectural elements was limited to the ground floor of the building, the most actively engaged in the street activity. The analysis of signage did not follow height restrictions, and discussed size and scale.

The term of *street activity* comprised the entire spectrum of activities engaging the users of the street and of the sidewalk and consisted of temporary vending and sidewalk activity. The assessment of the sidewalk was also based on Cullen's study which described different types of sidewalk possession – active, passive, and viscous – and the devices of sidewalk occupation. The assessment of specific uses of space and of objects in space was based on Borchert's study of social construction of space. The assessment of street activity assumed looking at the modalities of using the street space specific for each group of users. The analysis of specific ways to use the street during the *Flourishing* and the *Revival* phases revealed each generation's distinct strategies firstly to manifest and to reshape their ethnicity. Temporary vending was described in terms of

vending products and vending medium. Sidewalk activity consisted of modalities of using the sidewalk as extensions of the interiors. Sidewalk activity was described in terms of function (patio or display area) and strategies to define or enclose the extension area, through the use of furniture, greenery, objects, fences, and signage. The discussion of the connection between inside and outside vis-à-vis sidewalk extension was completed with observations on window transparency. Other elements included in the analysis of the streetscape were the function of the tenement first commercial floor. The analysis of images showing the exceptional use of the streetscape during street festivals looked at all the components of the streetscape previously mentioned. Additionally, the analysis looked at temporary decorative elements contributing to the street atmosphere, such as banners, flags, streetlights, mobile altars, and other decorative structures.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS

The first part of the following analysis consisted of identifying and describing streetscape generalities for Mulberry Street, during the *Flourishing* and the *Revival* phases. By looking at strategies to engage the built environment specific for each generation of immigrants, the analysis determined the connection between ethnic identity and patterns of using the space. This part of the study used Cullen's methodology for the qualitative assessment of the landscape through vision (Cullen, 1961). Streetscape generalities were identified in terms of street activity – sidewalk and street – and architecture. The analysis of the sidewalk appropriation was also based upon Cullen's study and describes types of sidewalk possession (active, passive, viscous), and the devices of sidewalk occupation. Uses of space and of objects in space specific for each generation were assessed by using Borchert's study on the role of objects and people in the social construction of space.

The Flourishing Phase

Streetscape generalities, patterns of space use and identity markers

The following part of the study assessed generalities of Mulberry Street streetscape during the *Flourishing* period, and identified patterns of using the space

characteristic for the first generation of Italian immigrants. This part of analysis identified Borchert's "completed" landscape.

During the *Flourishing* period, the first floor of the tenements usually accommodated commercial spaces, ranging from specialized services to groceries, cafes, and libraries. For certain types of businesses like groceries and bookstores, the interior space opened onto the sidewalk. Overhangs were used as devices of extension of the interior towards the sidewalk, as seen from Figure 12. Running along the entire first floor façade, the overhangs usually consisted of a metal structure covered with fabric. Apparent from Figure 11, businesses such as pharmacies or lawyer offices which required clean or private interiors did not open towards the sidewalk.



Figure 11. *Clam Sellers NY* (1900). The Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy of The Library of Congress, American Memory (Fig. A1, Appendix A).



Figure 12. *Italian Market Mulberry Street, NY (1900-1910).* The Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy of The Library of Congress, American Memory (Fig. A2, Appendix A).



Figure 13. *Bread Peddlers, Mulberry Street NY (1900-1910).* The Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy of The Library of Congress, American Memory (Fig A3, Appendix A).

Visual evidence shows signage on Mulberry Street in the form of text written on surfaces placed parallel against facades. Figures 11, 12, and 13 show the names of business written either on the surface of the windows or on a plate above the entrance level. With the address and the name of the business, along with bilingual specifications on the nature of the business, these signs, called by Henkin “urban texts,” acted as reference points in the physical and cultural mapping of the street within the larger neighborhood, and further, within the larger city. The written address incorporated in the signage helped readers to locate themselves in space, while the bilingual name and nature of business informed the outsider of entering a distinct ethnic environment.

The bilingual signs assumed on one hand the familiarity of the inhabitants of the street with the native language, and on the other hand it recognized the presence of the host society. The southern Italians, as everyday readers of these signs, used them as tools for reaffirming their own ethnicity on American ground. For the southern Italian, the bilingual message operated on two levels, one that addressed their ethnic background and one that acknowledged the American context. To a certain extent, the bilingual signs expressed the merchant’s compromise between the old country habit to do business among the same kind of people and the new economic condition of the American commercial life.

Mulberry Street’s everyday appearance changed significantly during the religious *feste*. The transformation of the street was achieved through temporary interventions on the tenements’ facades and through the addition of structures above the street level. As

visible in Figures 14 and 15 temporary structures adorning the façade took the form of altars or street shrines, dedicated to the saints of the *feste*. The altars covered partially the façade, reaching up to the third floor of the building. Street shrines built during the religious parades were influenced by religious architecture in southern Italy and sent an explicit message about the presence of the Neapolitans on Mulberry Street. Built by mutual aid societies, these shrines were richly adorned, frequently beyond the means of the inhabitants (Pozzetta, 1971, p. 292). Their decorative elements and the placement on the tenement facades created unique structures that played the role of identity markers. Figures 14 and 15 reveal a typical example of a temporary shrine erected during a religious festival. Its overall appearance was inspired by the southern Italian basilica, and was decorated in Baroque and Romanesque style. The grandly decorated shrine hosted the statue of San Gennaro, the patron saint of the *festa*. The placing of the shrine vertically on the façade of the tenement created the immediate effect of a signature architectural piece. With shrines, the homogenous streetscape of Mulberry Street became temporarily an environment punctuated by building-events. According to the caption of the photograph, the altar was placed on the building of Salvatore Esposito, one of the *prominenti* of the southern Italian community. Even in a prescribed environment such as New York's tenement district, Southern Italians found ways to alter the environment according to cultural beliefs. On temporary basis, Mulberry Street represented a display gallery of old country habits and new country social hierarchies.

The transformation of the tenements during the *Feste* represents one stance in which the buildings actively participated in the definition of the inhabitants of the

enclave, for they became the maintainers of exceptional social practices, such as religious processions. The *Feste* introduced a temporal dimension to the cultural landscape of the Italian enclave. Used as backdrops for the temporary shrine structures, the tenements came to represent devices for measuring yearly, seasonal, and daily cycles. During the *Feste*, the adorned buildings organized both the time and the space, by becoming stopping points during processions (Fig. 14 - 15).



Figure 14-15. *Mulberry Street-NE corner with Hester Street* (September 21, 1929) Percy Loomis Sperr. Courtesy of The New York Public Library (Fig. A9-10, Appendix A).

Religious celebrations took place throughout the entire Mulberry District. Each *Mezzogiorno* community observed its own patron saints and organized its own processions. For each community, the religious celebration represented the perfect moment to assert regional identity (Pozzetta, 1979). Similarly to the entire Mulberry District, the Neapolitans' religious *feste* took the form of long street processions in which the entire community participated. Mulberry Street thus acted not only as a stage for exercising regional specific religious beliefs, but also an instrument for affirming and redefining regional identity.

In order to create an environment suitable for the prominence of such an event, the Neapolitans altered the existing landscape. The modifications that they brought in the built environment showed their understanding of Mulberry Street's space qualities, and their ability to take the best advantage of the existing, through temporary interventions. Mulberry Street, very much defined by its longitudinal dimension, was also fairly monotonous due to the repetitiveness of the tenements' facades. Under these conditions, the successive placement of shrines on the tenements' facades was intended to create *reference points*. As stopping points along the religious processions, the adorned tenements organized the enclave in its space-time dimension.

The space thus created gained a significant new quality; during the religious celebration, the everyday homogenous tenement landscape became what Eliade called an "oriented" landscape, punctuated by strong points of reference. These temporary landmarks firstly organized the space within the street. From this perspective, the street space between the shrines became an "interstitial" space, subordinated to the reference

points. Secondly, the altars organized the space of the larger Italian enclave, within which Mulberry Street became itself a reference point for the entire Southern Italian community. By understanding the physical qualities of the existing built environment, the Neapolitans altered it and constructed one that suited their needs. Strategies of constructing the exceptional space of the enclave that included temporary modifications of the facades aimed at the creation of reference points both for the Neapolitan community and for the larger southern Italian group.

Besides building temporary architectural structures, another method to embellish the tenement's facades during the religious *feste* was the placement of painted or imprinted bi-dimensional representations of Southern Italy's landscape above store entrances, running through the length of the façade. The images shown in Figure 16 and Figures 17-19 contained representations of the city of Naples with Vesuvius in the background, a fact that attests to the prominence of the place of birth in the lives of Italian immigrants of the first generation.

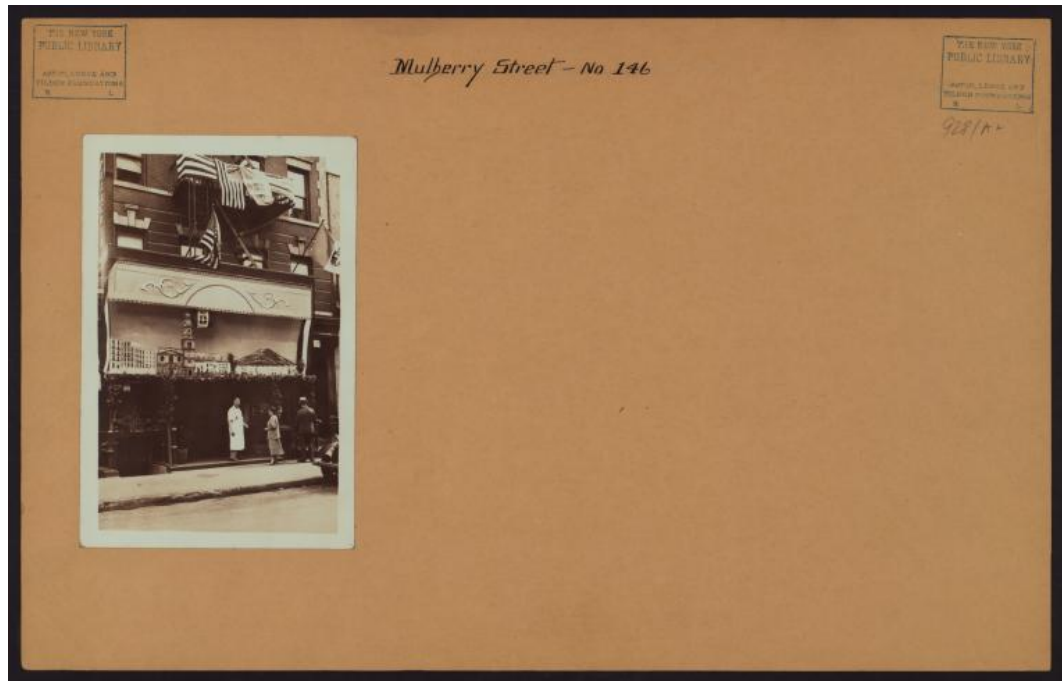


Figure 16. 146 *Mulberry Street* east side, south of *Grand Street* (September 20, 1929) Percy Loomis Sperr. Courtesy of The New York Public Library (Fig. A14, Appendix A).



Figures 17-19. 109 *Mulberry Street* (September 20, 1930) Percy Loomis Sperr. Courtesy of The New York Public Library (Fig. A15-17, Appendix A).

Neapolitans on Mulberry Street chose to make the native landscape a symbol of their regional identity. The message that these signs communicated was intended to be read firstly by Neapolitans and the entire Southern Italian community, for Vesuvius and Naples reinforced the regional roots of Mulberry's inhabitants. Secondly, the images were meant to be read by the larger city, thus acting as signs of Italian-ness in the area. Ironically, to a certain extent, the images of Neapolitan landscape, as well as the street shrines during the *feste* became a means of redefining ethnic identity in American context, from regional *Southern Italian* to simply *Italian*. Despite their regional content, these representations communicated to the non ethnic group the Italian-ness rather than the regionalism of Southern Italians. In turn, similarly to the bilingual signs, these signs of Italian-ness helped define a common ethnic identity across the entire Southern Italian group, by including in their message the acknowledging of the presence of the larger American society.

The presence of Italian-ness and Italian American-ness in the area was also communicated and reinforced through the use of Italian and American flags and banners hanging from the tenements' balconies, as visible in Figure 16. The flags communicated inconspicuously the presence of a common Italian identity, while also recognizing the American context. It is not clear if the American flags shown in the photographs owe their presence to the exceptionality of the moment or they were on display on a day by day basis. Their good condition, though, might suggest their occasional use, and the street *festa* provided the appropriate context for displaying them. In any case, Figure 16

presents an extremely intriguing image that suggests the intermingling of secular and sacred that Mulberry Street recorded during the *Flourishing* phase. The presence of flags – worldly images – in the exceptional streetscape of the religious celebration expresses the secularization of religious Southern Italian processions on Mulberry Street, a trend that continued steadily until the present.

Pushcarts

The *pushcart* was one of the most visible ingredients in the creating the streetscape of late nineteenth century Lower East Side, of which Mulberry District was an integral part. Although typical for the Mulberry Street area, the pushcart boom was not an ethnic but rather a class specific phenomenon. The first quarter of the 20th century saw pushcart vending as a practice spread throughout the entire Manhattan, with large concentrations in working class boroughs such as the Lower East Side. The first pushcart markets established on the Lower East Side date to 1886, when several pushcart peddlers positioned themselves on Hester Street. These informal markets stretched to other streets within the Lower East Side district, such as Orchard Streets, Rivington Street, East Monroe, Grand Street, and Ninth Avenue (Bluestone, p. 290). During the next 50 years, pushcarts markets were the subject of continuous scrutiny and regulation by the City authorities, and disappeared gradually from the streets of Lower East Side.

Visual evidence showed that the main activity taking place at the street level on Mulberry Street consisted of temporary and permanent vending. Vehicle and pedestrian circulation completed the spectrum of activities on Mulberry Street during the

Flourishing period. *Vending activity* on Mulberry Street's sidewalks is illustrated in Figures 11-13 and 20-22. As the images attest, street vending manifested in two ways: *temporarily*, through pushcarts and peddlers, and *permanently*, through the opening of the first floor of the commercial space to the sidewalk. A typical pushcart consisted of a wooden platform mounted on wheels that served as a vending area. The pushcarts represented in Figures 11 and 12 displayed typical selling products that ranged from fresh produce and fish to household objects. The vending platform of the pushcart showed in Figure 11 shows a slight inclination towards the sidewalk, thus suggesting that the vending was oriented towards the sidewalk. Typically, pushcarts were organized along the sidewalk, in compact clusters (Fig 20, 21) and were positioned below the sidewalk level, into the street (Fig 11, 21, 22)



Figure 20. *Italian Neighborhood with Street Market, Mulberry Street, NY (1900-1910)* The Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy of The Library of Congress, American Memory (Fig A18, Appendix A)



Figure 21. *Italian Neighborhood with Street Market, Mulberry Street, NY (1900-1910)* The Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy of The Library of Congress, American Memory (Fig A19, Appendix A)

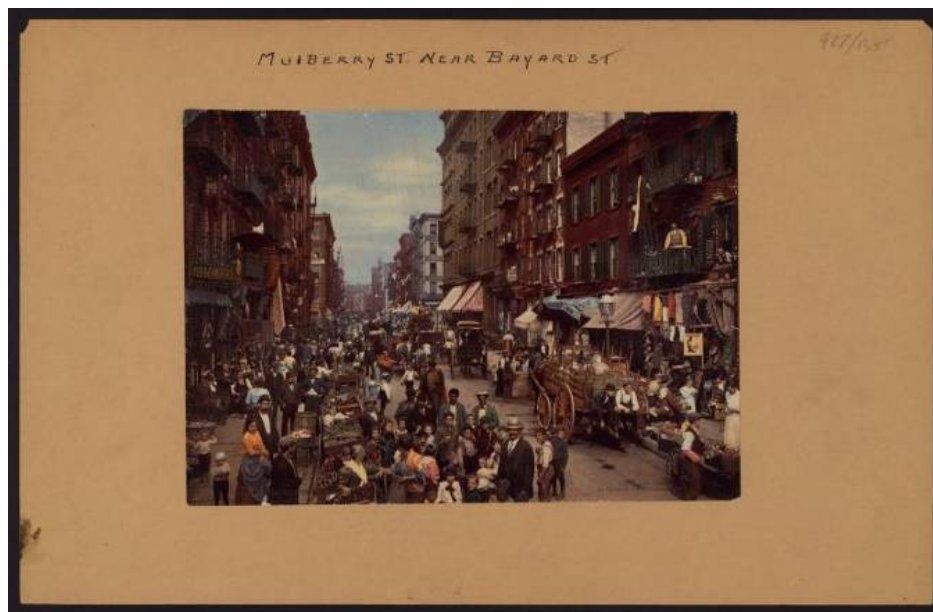


Figure 22. *Mulberry Street near Bayard* (undated) The Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy of The Library of Congress, American Memory (Fig A20, Appendix A)

Peddling was another form of temporary street vending and required usually a basket that could be carried on someone's back, as illustrated in Figure 13. Another form of vending typical for the *Flourishing* period on Mulberry Street was the opening of the commercial space to the sidewalk. The displays of the products, as shown in Figures 23-25 were realized through the use of shelves in front of the windows, and through hanging products above the entrance level of the store.

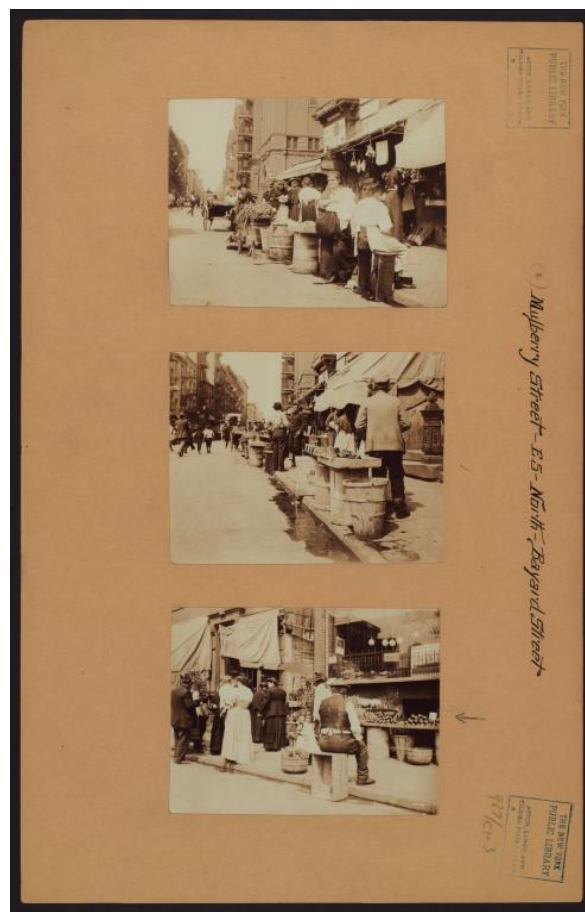


Figure 23-25. *Mulberry Street East Side North Bayard Street* (1907). Eugene L. Armbuster Collection Courtesy of The New York Public Library (Fig. A4-6, Appendix A).

The three general views of Mulberry Street (Figures 20, 21, and 22) show the compact organization of the pushcarts on one side of the street, while the opposite side of the street shows the presence of big vehicles, like horse carts, themselves involved in the vending process, and functioning as storage. The street with aligned pushcarts was a space destined mainly to vehicle traffic, although the scattered big horse carts allowed for blurring the border between adjacent sidewalk and street. The separation between sidewalk and street has accentuated with the apparition of motor vehicles later, as seen in Figure 26.

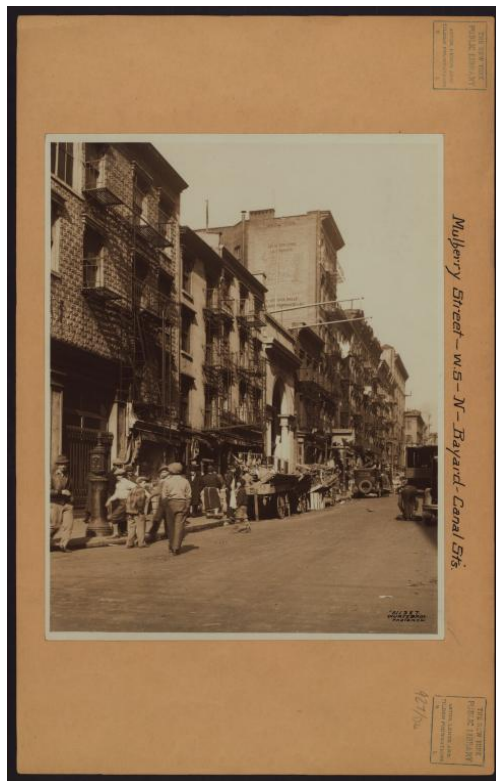


Figure 26. *Mulberry Street West Side North Bayard Street* (1931). Wurtz Brothers. Courtesy of The New York Public Library (Fig. A21, Appendix A).

Photographs indicate that pushcarts acted differently in terms of ordering the space, according to their organization in clusters or as solitary. When single, the vending process took place on all sides of the cart, as visible in Figures 11 and 12. The space claimed by the pushcart was circular and intersected both the street and the sidewalk. When aligned along the sidewalk, the vending space of the pushcart was limited to its two long sides. The vending area towards the sidewalk was enforced by the limitation of access between the pushcarts and by the inclination of the vending platform towards the sidewalk.

Although not an activity specific for Italian immigrants in the Lower East Side, the pushcart vending included several qualities that made it an attractive mode for Italian immigrants to do business. Firstly, pushcart vending was a suitable enterprise for unskilled laborers such as the recently arrived Italian immigrants. Secondly, the pushcart commerce represented the most affordable shopping practice for both the buyer and the seller, for it allowed negotiation and speculation. The pushcart and peddler commerce also matched the attitudes of the first generation of immigrants toward public space and social interaction, for street vending met the immigrants' preference for outdoor working. In fact, as Vecoli observed, it was usual for the Italian immigrants of the first generation to choose employment that presupposed working outdoors, since working the land was the main occupation back in the old country (Vecoli, 1978). Selling and buying in the street allowed the southern Italian community to establish a system of social

relationships, similar to the intricate social network of the highly stratified southern Italian society.

Street use and signification

During the *Flourishing* period, most of the public life of the Southern Italian community took place in the street, outside the crowded tenement quarters. As Gabaccia describes the daily lives of Italian immigrants on Elizabeth Street, the dense tenement housing encouraged children, women, and men to socialize outside their apartments, on the roof above and in the yard below (Gabaccia, 1997, p. 242).

Pozzetta (1981) accentuates the importance of the street for the Southern Italian immigrants of Mulberry District. With pushcarts “clogging” the sidewalks, women doing their daily shopping, “hordes of children” running and jumping, shops taking over sidewalks, the early twentieth century street of Mulberry District was a place that revealed the essence of Southern immigrant life. As Pozzetta observes, the street provided its inhabitants with a setting for the developing of an intricate system of social relations (Pozzetta, 1981, p. 24).

Mulberry Street represented an outdoor living room for the Southern Italian immigrants, a place which recognized the rules of kinship. Offering the latest goods, gossips, and news, the street was also the domain of reaffirmation of the social hierarchy of the southern Italians on American land. Especially in a closed society such as the *Mezzogiorno*, where kinship rules regulated the communication between people, establishing relationships with the right kind was crucial. The street represented firstly

the physical realm where new connections were created and old relationships were maintained. People met, talked, sold, bought, and exchanged information on the street. Secondly, the street provided with “a second level of organization,” a social realm based on hierarchy. People used the street to see and to be seen, with the specific aim to reaffirm issues of gender, class, and ethnicity.

Both the everyday and the exceptional landscape of Mulberry Street were punctuated by a series of physical elements and patterns of using the space, specific for the first generation of Italian immigrants. These physical spatial components and particular behaviors in space acted as *identity markers* for the inhabitants of Mulberry Street. The ethnic identity markers carried messages simultaneously to the inhabitants of the street, to the inhabitants of Little Italy, and to the larger society outside the limits of the enclave about being Neapolitan, Southern Italian, and Italian American. The concurrent messages of identities communicated through these identity markers reflected the beginnings of the process of redefining the Southern Italian identity on American soil. Bilingual signs, flags, and banners communicated to the inhabitants of the street and to the larger society the fact that Southern Italians in Mulberry District acknowledged the American context. Altars and paintings expressed the regionalism of the Neapolitans, while simultaneously representing signs of Italian-ness, directed to be read by the larger American society. The exceptional use of the street during the *feste*, as well as the use of the street as a social arena communicated to the inhabitants of the streets and to the larger enclave ideas about being Neapolitan and Southern Italian.

Neapolitans on Mulberry Street, representative for the Southern Italians living in Mulberry District, used these signs of ethnicity to redefine and reaffirm their regional southern Italian identity within American context. The different strategies of streetscape alteration during the *Flourishing* period stood as a proof of the incipient process of redefinition of ethnic identity, from Southern Italian to Italian American.

By the end of the 1930s, Little Italy, once a conglomerate of Southern Italian identities became an Italian enclave. The Second World War provided the fuel for the process of creating a common Italian American identity throughout the entire Italian immigrant population of Mulberry District and of the rest of the country. With the post war boom accelerating the process of Americanization, the newly emerged second generation of Italian immigrants blurred their regional differences, calling themselves Italian Americans. In a massive flight to suburbs, the second generation Italian Americans set themselves far from the very landscape that recorded their parents' struggle to affirm their regional identity and to redefine it in American context.

The Revival Phase

By the end of the 1970s, Little Italy, the oldest Italian American enclave reduced its population considerably. The Italian Americans in New York seemed to have been engaged in the inevitable process of assimilation, a trend predicted by specialists throughout the entire spectrum of ethnic studies. The *Risorgimento* movement that sparked in 1974 challenged these predictions by questioning notions like *Italian American identity* and *assimilation* in the American society. It is beyond the interest of

this study to determine whether the *Risorgimento* movement underscored the revival of a dormant Italian American identity or represented, as Gans affirmed, the very sign of assimilation of the third generation of Italian Americans into the mainstream society. In any case, the *Risorgimento* initiated by the few members of third generation of Italian Americans living in 1970s Little Italy, redefined and reaffirmed a new Italian identity. Denominated by Gans “symbolic,” this new kind of ethnicity endorsed the nostalgic revival of traditions through the use of symbols. The preserved space of Mulberry Street became itself a symbolic space for displaying a more visible reinvented ethnicity, and came to represent the ideological core of the *Risorgimento* projected actions.

Mulberry Street’s preservation actions focused on the three block area between Canal Street and Broome Street, and have continued until the present. The following part of the analysis looks at the modifications that the Italian Americans of the third generation brought to Mulberry Street’s streetscape in order to make more visible their presence in the area. This part of the analysis focused on identifying streetscape generalities, identity markers, and patterns of using the space during the Revival phase. Patterns of using the space specific for the Revival phase were attributed to the entire group of street users, among which the third and the fourth generation of Italian immigrants counted only for a small part. Although inhabited primarily by non Italians, this study associated Mulberry Street with the third generation of Italian Americans. The absence of Italian Americans in the area and their replacement with tourists as the main users of the street reflects the process of redefinition of the Italian American identity, initiated by the *Risorgimento* movement and continuing until the present.

Signage and sidewalk possession

The signage on Mulberry Street, consisting of business signs, overhangs, windows, menus, and other objects represents the most visible ingredient in the displaying of the new, symbolic ethnicity. Signs advertising restaurants and cafes belong to two categories, according to their placement on the façade: the first type is created by tri-dimensional elements perpendicular to the façade, and displayed above the first floor level, as visible in Figures 27 and 28. A typical signage shown in the photos consists of a metal case containing the name of the business inscribed with neon lettering. The signage shown in Figure 29 is also placed perpendicular on the façade, and reaches the fourth floor in height. The main material consists of fabric stretched on metal structure, with the name of the business printed. The color scheme includes red, white and green and also acts as signage. Bi-dimensional signage runs parallel to the façade, as shown in Figure 30. Placed above or below the overhangs, these signs are intended to be read in frontal approach towards the building.



Figure 27. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection (Fig B36, Appendix B)



Figure 28. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection (Fig B43, Appendix B)



Figure 29. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection (Fig B32, Appendix B)



Figure 30. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection (Fig B10, Appendix B)

Added to signs, overhangs represent another medium for advertisement. As visible in Figures 30 and 31, overhangs play the triple role of protection, and possession. Overhangs carry the printed name of the business, the address and the telephone number, thus acting as orientation devices.



Figure 31. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection (Fig B60, Appendix B)

Both in the case of restaurants and other businesses, windows also create a medium for advertisement through inscriptions and through display, as shown in Figures 32 and 33. These figures also show the use the displaying of objects as carriers of explicit messages about the types of businesses. The advertisement through *objects* outside the

commercial space is illustrated in Figure 34. *Menus*, either mounted on a pedestal or blackboard type, also acts as signage, as shown in Figure 35.

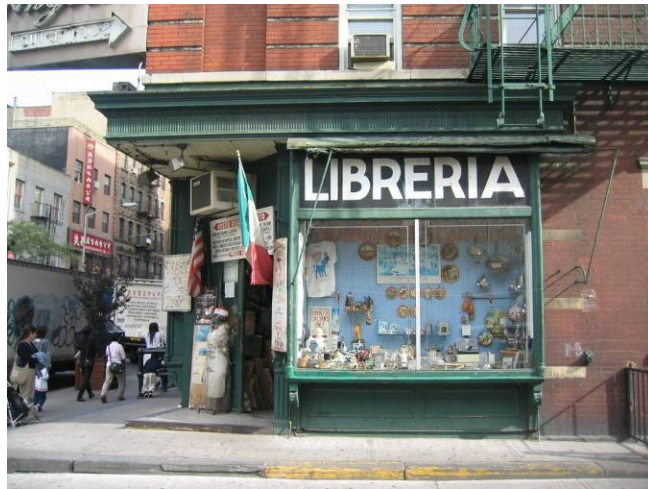


Figure 32. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection (Fig B22, Appendix B)



Figure 33. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection (Fig B23, Appendix B)



Figure 34. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection (Fig B49, Appendix B)



Figure 35. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection (Fig B55, Appendix B)

Signage on Mulberry Street represents a crucial ingredient in creating an informational landscape. Regardless of the medium employed, signage generally includes the name and the logo of the business, the address and the telephone number, and the display of the Italian flag color scheme, red-white-green. Moreover, the vast majority of signs on Mulberry Street contain the establishment date (Fig. 36). Similarly to the *Flourishing* phase, the signs contribute to the geographical and ethnical mapping of the city, providing with a means of orientation. Mulberry Street signage addresses the transient person, such as the passerby and the tourist. Unlike the *Flourishing* phase, the signs do not play the same active role of affirming or redefining the ethnic identity of the inhabitants of the street, for the Italian Americans in the area are sparse. Instead, the information offered by these signs communicates the continuation of an ethnic identity on a larger scale, and blurs completely any regional Southern Italian differences that were visible during the *Flourishing* phase.



Figure 36. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection (Fig B3, Appendix B)

The commercial activity on Mulberry Street concentrates on the preservation area of Mulberry Street and is represented by food trade. The field survey conducted by the researcher identified 56 out of the 75 businesses on Mulberry Street of Italian specific, and centered on food. One of the main ingredients of the sidewalk activity on Mulberry Street consists in the extending the interiors of the restaurants and of the cafes onto the sidewalk, through outdoor seating.

The sidewalk possession is created through the use of a series of interventions in the architecture of the façade and through the use of movable elements such as outdoor furniture, greenery, and menus display. Window treatment plays a prominent role in the creating of the connection between the inside of the restaurants and the outside. As shown in Figures 37 and 38, the inside-outside connection is blurred by the emphasizing of transparency of the large window panels. Moreover, the connection is heightened by the opened doors and in some cases by the opened windows as illustrated in Figures 37 and 39. In the process of transformation of the old façade into a glass paneled window, the frames were re-interpreted and replaced sensitively or restored. In some isolated cases, the facades were clad in aluminum.



Figure 37. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection (Fig B1, Appendix B)



Figure 38. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection (Fig B6, Appendix B)



Figure 39. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection (Fig B14, Appendix B)

Such strategies of taking possession of the sidewalk during the Revival phase do not necessarily signify Italian-ness, but rather communicate ways of food consumption specific to high density European urban areas. The modified environment advertises itself not as an ethnic Italian place, but as a place of leisure that can offer a taste of Italy, at best the westernized version of a *Trattoria*.

Another element of the façade contributing to the possession of the sidewalk is the *overhanging structure*. Generally, overhangs cover the length of the façade and appear more prominent over the entrance door, thus functioning as way-finding devices, as shown previously in Figures 31 and 36. Moreover, through their color and inscription, overhangs play the role of signage, announcing the name and nature of the business. In the case of restaurants and cafes businesses, the extension of the interior into the sidewalk is also created by the use of outdoor seating, protected by overhangs. As shown in

Figures 41, 42, and 43, the area allotted for outdoor seating is strictly delimited by the use of carpets or sidewalk material, variations in sidewalk level, fences or a combination of these. As shown in Figure 43, greenery also contributes to the delimitation of the sidewalk. Outdoor furniture consisting of table and chairs also accentuates the inside-outside connection.



Figure 40. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection (Fig B53, Appendix B)

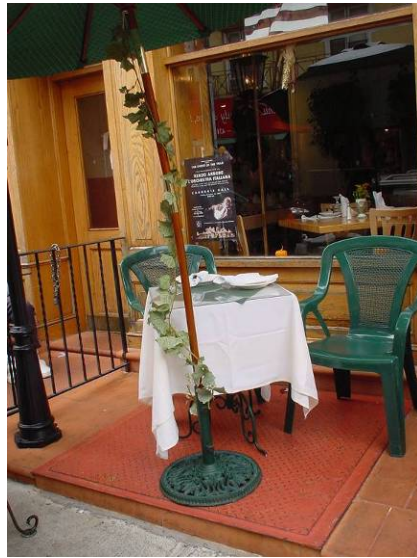


Figure 41. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection (Fig B54, Appendix B)



Figure 42. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection (Fig B15, Appendix B)



Figure 43. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection (Fig B5, Appendix B)

Among other businesses present on Mulberry Street, Chinese gift stores also delimit the corresponding portion of the sidewalk. The sense of possession of the sidewalk is created by the total opening of the commercial space towards the street and through the exhibiting the objects at the façade limit. The Asian stores shown in Figures 44 and 45 illustrate a behavior of claiming the sidewalk typical for the commercial spaces in the neighboring Chinatown. The facades are stripped from original architectural elements, and are replaced by metal doors that slide down once the stores close. Products are displayed on vertical racks or hang from the inside of the overhangs.



Figure 44. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection (Fig B26, Appendix B)



Figure 45. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection (Fig B27, Appendix B)

The epitome district: Identity markers

Present-day Little Italy matches Clay's definition of an *epitome district*: the *naming* of the enclave was specified in 1970 by the New York City Planning Commission, the main agent responsible for the implementing preservation actions

occasioned by the Risorgimento movement. The name of *Little Italy* aimed to clearly emphasize the Italian American identity of the area, in a sea of Asian culture. Moreover, the preserved portion of Mulberry Street delimited by Canal and Broome Streets acquired the symbolic name of “Mulberry Street Mall,” thus pointing out the desire to advertise simultaneously the consumerist and the pedestrian character of the area. Additionally, the City Planning Commission actions resulted in the delimitation of the enclave’s *official boundaries*.

Little Italy’s *local history* is amply illustrated in tourist maps, flyers and travel books; moreover, media and popular culture created and maintained *myths* about the area, while building upon stereotypes (mafia, Italian family ethos). Little Italy’s *core*, where most of the ethnic activity is concentrated, is defined by the portion of Mulberry Street bounded by Canal Street in the south and Grand Street in the North. Little Italy displays a multitude of *symbolic elements* that express ethnic identity: signage communicating Italian businesses, street furniture colored in red, green and white, sidewalks occupied by café patios, greenery, and windows lights. More than anything, Little Italy (in particular Mulberry Street) is the location of a series of ethnic religious and secular *celebrations* such as *San Gennaro* and *Columbus Day*.

An epitome district like Little Italy is created by a multitude of *identity markers*, elements aimed to display old-refurbished and new-fabricated identities. A series of elements play the role of identity makers (or *symbols*) in the creation of the ethnic symbolic landscape of Mulberry Street. Little Italy’s Mulberry Street matches Gans’ characterization of a symbol space that encourages the practicing of symbolic ethnicity.

The most powerful symbol of Italian American identity displayed at the street level is *the commerce centered on food*. This type of businesses prevalent on Mulberry Street acts as an identity maker, since food has a prominent role in the Italian and Italian American culture. Moreover, as food consumption became an act of “practicing” symbolic ethnicity, the street – a site of consumption – becomes itself an identity maker.

The use of stereotypes is another form of expressing the new symbolic Italian American ethnicity. The displays shown in Figure 46 represent props of an Italian pride built upon popular culture stereotypes. The fat *mama mia*, the authoritarian *capo della famiglia*, Mussolini, the good food and the mafia, are all transformed into selling goods for the tourist. The color scheme red-white-green also acts as an identity maker, being found not only in the Italian flags hanging on the facades, but also on street-poles, hydrants, garages, and temporary structures.



Figure 46. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection (Fig. B50, Appendix B)

Streetscape Changes over Time

Selling goods and ideas: From commerce for trade to commerce for leisure

The street is an extremely important feature in the life of Italian enclaves and it is a substantial part of Italian culture. Mulberry Street, the spine of the enclave, has always been a vivid commercial artery and the community's vital outdoors. During the *Flourishing* phase, Mulberry Street offered both the physical space and the social realm necessary for the life of the community. Mulberry's vivid physical realm was governed by an assumed set of social rules that sustained the community. In turn, the street itself generated communication and social rules, thus establishing itself as the backbone of the community.

A significant contributing factor to the vitality of the street was the intensive use of the first floor of the tenements. At the end of the nineteenth century, the streets of Mulberry District, including Mulberry Street, thrived with commerce. Adding to the countless pushcarts and peddlers, the first floors of the tenements were used for commercial purposes, and often spilled their goods into the street (Pozzetta, 1981, p. 24). The variety of shops was impressive: *cafes* and *restaurants (trattorie)* offered ethnic food at low prices were so diverse that one could make a tour of Italy just visiting restaurants (cited in Pozzetta, 1981, p. 25). *Bookstores* and *bookstands* also abounded in the Mulberry District, regardless of “nativist contentions of Italian mental inferiority and often-quoted statistics on illiteracy” (Pozzetta, p. 24). Other services for the Italian immigrants were offered by a diversity of professionals including midwives (*levatrice*), lawyers, notaries, medical doctors, pharmacists, dentists, and funeral directors. In addition, twice a day lotteries took place in diverse commercial spaces, like groceries, cigar shops or candy stores that served as centers for betting (Pozzetta, 25). The street corners also served as betting locations. According to one 1893 report, every corner of Mulberry Street had a betting place (Pozzetta, 26). As the main trading space, Mulberry Street of the *Flourishing* period represented a vital ingredient in the public life of Italian immigrants. The commercial street provided the means for social subsistence; beyond an exchange of goods and money, the act of trading represented a reassurance for both the vendor and the buyer of their belonging to an ethnic category.

Today’s Mulberry Street also thrives with commerce. South of Canal Street, Mulberry Street becomes part of Chinatown and is filled with Chinese commerce. North

of Kenmare, the street's appearance resonates with SOHO's and Nolita's residential character. The three blocks in the preservation area, identified with the Italian American identity, abounds with Italian restaurants and cafes. Unlike during the *Flourishing* period when the users of the street were mainly Italian immigrants living in the area, during the revival period the tourists are the main contributors to the life of the street. Besides tourists, Italian Americans living outside Little Italy are occasional participants, while being engaged in the practicing of leisure-oriented, *symbolic ethnicity* (Gans, 1979).

Food and food ways: From a space of providing to a space of consuming

Contemporary Mulberry Street is a consumption site based on tourist necessities, a fact attested to by the multitude of commercial spaces and by the high emphasis on signage. As a consumption site deeply immersed in the capitalist demand-offer strategy, Mulberry Street sells to the outside world what the outside world expects. Partly coming from the Italian family culture and partly encouraged by mass media stereotypes, *the food* has come to represent the essence of Italian American ethnic identity. Not surprisingly, commerce centered on food suited best both the Italian Americans' desire to prove their resilience and the larger publics' expectation of what Italian American identity must be.

Occupying such a prominent position within the cultural landscape of the Italian American world, changes in community's *food ways* found their expression on changes of Mulberry's streetscape. During each of the periods, the streetscape recorded distinct philosophies pertaining to the role of the food within the Italian immigrant and later within the Italian American community. During the *Flourishing* period, food was a

family matter that took place exclusively inside the house. Through pushcart vending and peddling, the street provided the raw materials, further processed by the women of the family. The street and the home kitchen represented the two endings of an elaborate process of transformation from raw material (produce) to cooked meal. For the consumer, the process started with the visual contact of the produce, followed by its evaluation. Further, choosing, bargaining and purchasing supposed the direct participation of both vendor and buyer; at this stage the raw material became a precious good on both sides of the vending/buying process. For the average worker family living on Little Italy carrying the produce, cooking and consuming became part of the domestic sphere, away from the street and protected from the public eyes. The family meal represented the epitome of domesticity for the Italian culture and stood at the core of the fragmented Italian immigrant society of *campanilismo*.

By contrast, during the *Revival* phase, food became a matter of the public domain. Unlike during the *Flourishing* phase when the street provided the backdrop for the first link of the food processing chain – the raw food – during the *Revival* phase the street became food's final stage and the last link of consuming. As a restaurant client, the buyer loses the direct contact with the raw food material. Consumers in passing, the tourists are spectators and victims to their own collection of expectations of what real Italian ethnic food should be. On the sidewalk or inside the large panel windowed venue, food consumers are on display and become part of the ethnic landscape, as their act of consuming ethnic food validates the ethnicity of the place.

The abundance of cafes and restaurants on Mulberry Street today is not solely the result of carefully planned strategies of revitalizing the street. The community revitalization project initiated during the *Risorgimento* focused its efforts on creating a vibrant street through the diversity of commerce. The final plan proposed in 1974 by the NYC Planning Commission and later implemented on the site included approximately five sidewalk cafes and restaurants for each of the three blocks defined by Canal, Hester, Grand and Broome. Today, the same area displays 34 Italian restaurants and adjacent patios, six Italian businesses such as bookstores and grocery stores, while 15 small size venues are Chinese businesses. The flourishing of restaurants and cafes for the past 20 years demonstrates the bi-directional process of shaping the Italian American identity, firstly from the larger society that encouraged and later expected the stereotyped image of the Italian American. Secondly, the Italian American identity is shaped from within the ethnic group for whom the food has always stood at the core of their cultural values; by choosing to augment the food aspect, Italian Americans became participants in the capitalist process of demand-offer. Ethnicity became a selling good and Mulberry Street the ideal site to promote and consume it.

Sidewalks and patios: From dynamic possession to static possession

During the *Flourishing* phase, *sidewalk possession* on Mulberry Street occurred through the interplay of the two main forces delimiting the sidewalk, the pushcarts and the commercial spaces. Commercial spaces allotted adjacent sidewalk portions through the use of displaying areas situated in the sidewalk and through the use of overhangs

projecting onto the sidewalk. In addition, the partial opening of the store towards the street contributed to the blurring of the border between inside and outside. The compact organization of the pushcarts and the orientation towards the sidewalk lead to its transformation into a crowded corridor, with successive pieces of the sidewalk claimed by their corresponding pushcarts. Within the sidewalk corridor, opened commercial spaces acted as pockets, thus deviating the linear movement of the pedestrians imposed by the organization of pushcarts. Thus, the sidewalk recorded different forms of activity, identified by Cullen as *static* (vendors), *dynamic* (passersby) and *viscous* (buyers). The three forms of occupying the sidewalk coexisted and regulated each other. During the years of the pushcart boom, sidewalk activity along Mulberry Street was different from block to block, being influenced by the un-regulated placement of the mobile vending platforms.

As largely described in the previous portion of the analysis dedicated to the assessment of streetscape generalities, during the *Revival* phase the sidewalk possession occurred through interventions at the façade level (enlargement of windows and overhangs) and through the placement of temporary and permanent elements on the sidewalk adjacent to the commercial space (outdoor furniture, fences, greenery, sidewalk materials and menu stands). The density and the proximity of the restaurants on Mulberry Street offered the sidewalk a distinct mixture of activities, which could be found on all three blocks of the analysis. Added to the *static activity* created by the outdoor seating of the patios, *meander activity*, describing the strolling of tourists and other passersby on the sidewalk completes the sidewalk's spectrum of action during the *Revival* phase. The

controlling of the sidewalk by ownership and by the Little Italy historic district design guidelines acts as a statement. The emphasis on the numerous patios aims to accentuate the presence of Italian American ethnicity on Mulberry Street. Part of a tourist consumption site, the sidewalk offers what the tourist expects in an area charged with Italian ethnic identity: outdoor seating and the consequent possibility of observing the street (static activity).

Space and ethnicity: From architecture as background to architecture as heirloom

In this study, the built environment was understood as an active ingredient in the shaping of the identity of its users. It was the hypothesis of this study that Mulberry Street was modified according to the cultural background of each generational group. In turn, the constructed street space shaped the identity of its users, by creating an environment that encouraged the retaining of their cultural identity. One of the most important questions raised by the present study is the importance of the built space in the definition and the redefinition of ethnic identity.

Mulberry Street during the *Flourishing* period most probably offered to immigrants a familiar setting, similar in density to the crowded streets of the urban *Mezzogiorno*. Still, the typical *Mezzogiorno* urban structure also contained elements that the tenement district did not offer. The *campanile*, the *piazza*, and the church represented vital ingredients in the life of the southern Italian city; these urban elements oriented the urban space, firstly permanently as landmarks and secondly temporarily, by counting the

rhythms of secular and religious events. New York's Mulberry district provided the Italian immigrants with a setting similar in density to the *Mezzogiorno* urban street, but fundamentally different in its urban structure. Nevertheless, the lack of urban orientation devices in Mulberry District was compensated for during the religious *feste* by the elaborate decoration of some tenement facades; the streetscape acquired hierarchy through the creating of temporary landmarks out of ordinary structures. Unlike their Southern Italian town, the Italian immigrants read their neighborhood street as an environment that changed at will, as it switched its character from ordinary to extraordinary.

The preservation efforts of the *Revival* period brought about a strong focus on the existing architectural qualities of the street. The preserved tenements on Mulberry Street came to represent architectural heirlooms which reconnected the third and the fourth generations of Italian Americans to their immigrant ancestors. Retouched by preservation, Mulberry Street could not have risen to the status of symbolic space without its historic structures. Without a doubt, Mulberry Street today feeds a kind of ethnicity fundamentally different from the one experienced by the first generation of immigrants. This new kind of symbolic ethnicity which mixes consumerism with a romanticized vision of the immigrant experience finds its expression in the physical space of Mulberry Street. A stroll through the stores and through the restaurants of Mulberry Street does not offer anymore a real taste of southern Italy, but, rather, the illusion of a taste, built upon popular culture, consumerism, and heirloom architecture.

The impact of architecture in the redefinition of ethnicity was visible in the case of Italian Americans of the third and fourth generation. Paradoxically, the redefinition of Italian American identity initiated by the *Risorgimento* movement occurred in a place not inhabited by Italians. It was media attention and popular culture that elevated Mulberry District to the rank of symbol of an Italian American ethnicity which was laying on its death bed. The redefinition of Italian-ness needed a *billboard* space which could display a variety of reinvented and refurbished signs of ethnicity. The preservation of Mulberry Street brought to light those carefully picked signs of ethnicity that best fitted newly refurbished ethnic values. The Italian Americans of the third and fourth generation use the refurbished ethnicity on display on Mulberry Street as a reinforcement of their continuous presence on American land. At the subliminal level, the food commerce also promotes a certain European rather than Italian specific manner to consume food. Italian Americans might read the message as an accentuation of their European roots.

The study showed that space played distinct roles in the definition and redefinition of the Italian identity. The changes in the role of the street over time relate to changes in the identity of several generations of immigrants; although transformed in its demographics and its appearance over a period of almost a century, Mulberry Street never ceased to represent an active agent of change in the continuous redefinition of Italian American ethnicity.

To begin with, during the *Flourishing* phase Mulberry Street represented the absolute *space of trade*, providing with the basic means of existence, such as food and services. By contrast, during the *Revival* phase, the street became a *space of leisure*, one

which offered ethnicity as a commodity. The street changed its status from a primary arena selling goods to a tourist commodity selling an idea. The change from *a space of trade* to *a space of leisure* related to changes in the degree of importance of the street space – and, by extension, of the larger Italian enclave – in the lives of the immigrants. During the *Flourishing* phase Mulberry Street represented a vital *space of providing* goods and social interaction. The lives of the first generation of Italian immigrants in Little Italy related intimately to the street, both on a daily basis and exceptionally, during the *Feste*. By contrast, during the *Revival* phase Mulberry Street transformed its role from a space addressing basic necessities through *providing*, to a space addressing the fulfillment of aspirations of leisure, through *consuming*.

The change of the role of the street from addressing basic necessities to fulfilling aspirations of lifestyle relates to fundamental changes in the Italian American community. Whereas during the *Flourishing* phase the street was used and it transformed the Italian community living in Little Italy, during the *Revival* phase the street extends its area of influence outside its geographical borders. Mulberry Street of the *Revival* phase magnetizes a community whose interest to visit is not related to ethnic identity, but is rather linked to leisure.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Using Photographic Evidence

The photographic analysis employed by this study revealed on one hand the richness of historic photographs and on another hand the fundamental necessity of interpreting them in historical context. The secondary sources discussing the intricacies of the Italian immigrant experience in the United States provided the backdrop for visual interpretation, and replaced the researcher's direct observation during the Revival phase.

The employment of photographic analysis came with a series of problems that added complexity to the study. To begin with, the photographer's *point of view* needed to be part of the analysis. For example, in the case of the historic photographs from the Detroit Publishing Company used in this research, the name of the photographer was not associated with the image. Hence, the point of view of the company overrode that of the photographer. By contrast, the fourteen images attributed to Percy Loomis Sperr illustrated the author's specific interest in the capturing streetscapes of the changing 1930s metropolis. It is very possible that the photographs were carefully chosen snapshots of what the author saw as examples of cultural change on New York's streets, rather than unobstructed observations. According to the New York Public Library description of the photographic collection, Sperr was mostly interested in the revealing of buildings and streets, rather than in the capturing of New York City street life. The

understanding of street life through photography – the recording of a single moment in time – is problematic in its essence, unless it is based on series of images rather than on a single snapshot. Out of a series of photographs, the Detroit Publishing Company most surely published the single image that could sell best, thus leaving aside the extra snapshots. On the other hand, Sperr's images reveal more detail of street life, by taking multiple snapshots of the same subject (Fig 9-10, 11-13, 15-17).

Another problem posed by photographic analysis was related to the process of field research. While offering a comprehensive image of the street life in Little Italy, the photographs taken by the author of the present research reflected only snapshots in time. Taken over a period of three days, the photographs did not allow for the identifying of patterns of street use outside the time frame of the observation, during street festivals, weekends, nights, or even during different seasons.

Further Study

Further study can discuss the connection between space and ethnicity vis-à-vis other urban Italian American enclaves. By looking at ways in which Italian immigrants of the first generation constructed space, the study could reveal how distinct urban spaces shape the same ethnic identity.

The present study could acquire a valuable layer of research by taking into account the daily and the seasonal rhythms of the enclave. Such an analysis could reveal a more comprehensive understanding of the strategies of constructing space of the present day Mulberry Street public. One other interesting possible future direction for the present

research would be a study of the borders between Little Italy and the surrounding neighborhoods. Such a research could reveal ways in which the signs ethnicity dilute from the preserved historic core of the district towards its margins. This study could also reflect how the border of the district changes according to the adjacent surrounding neighborhoods.

The present study raises a few interesting issues related to the role of historic preservation in the sustaining of an ethnicity in its most abstract shape. A study extending its area of interest to diverse ethnic groups that manifest symbolic ethnicity might reveal ways in which preservation can manipulate and create ethnic symbols. Historic preservation can be seen as a vital agent in the redefinition of ethnic identity.

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Appendix A. Photographs During the Flourishing Phase (Fig. A1-A21)

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Figure A1. *Clam Sellers NY* (1900). The Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy of The Library of Congress, American Memory (<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html>)



Figure A2. *Italian Market Mulberry Street, NY (1900-1910).* The Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy of The Library of Congress, American Memory (<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html>)



Figure A3. *Bread Peddlers, Mulberry Street NY* (1900-1910). The Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy of The Library of Congress, American Memory (Fig 3, Appendix 1). (<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html>)



Figures A4-6. *Mulberry Street East Side North Bayard Street* (1907). Eugene L. Armbuster Collection Courtesy of The New York Public Library (<http://www.nypl.org/>)

Captions:

Fig A4: "1. Mulberry Street, East Side, north from and including Bayard Street. Note P.S. No23 on the NE corner. Pushcart peddlers, vendors, etc., shown in this series of views, are still typical for this neighborhood ("Little Italy" or "Mulberry Bend"). About 1907."

Fig. A5: "2. The same view, further northward. About 1907."

Fig. A6: "3. A portion of the foreground of No.2 (Fig5, n.a). Note the 1 story frame structure adjoining No 66 Mulberry Street, the SE corner building. Shown on the right, is the humble start of a local bank; banco de Prisco, which is now (1936), known as the Prisco Bank, and is located at No 73, west side, north of Bayard Street."

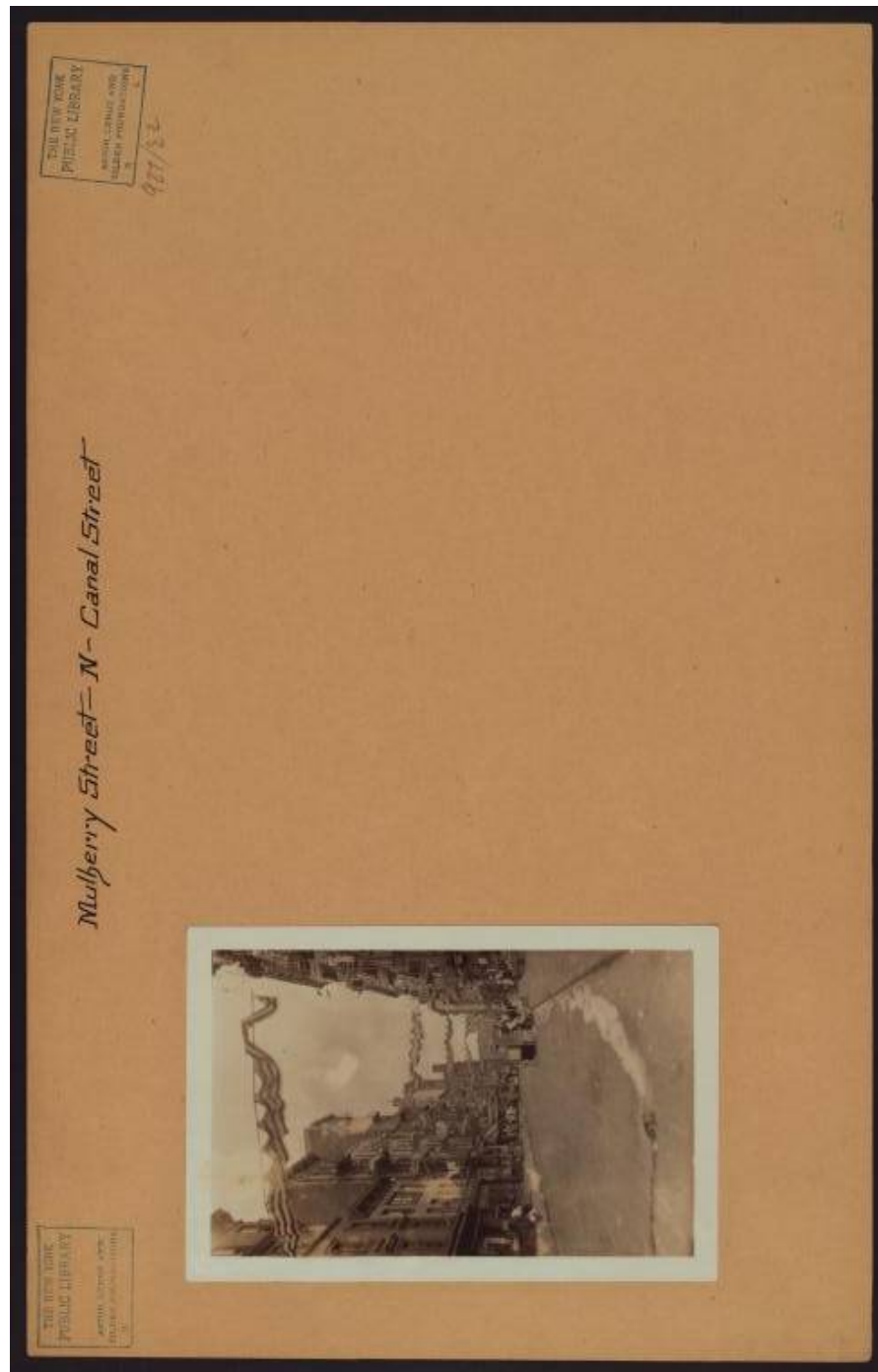


Figure A7. *Mulberry Street during the Feast of San Gennaro (1927).* Percy Loomis Sperr, Courtesy of The New York Public Library (<http://www.nypl.org/>)

Caption: "Mulberry Street, north from but not including Canal Street, showing the street decorated for the Feast of San Gennaro. August 19, 1927."

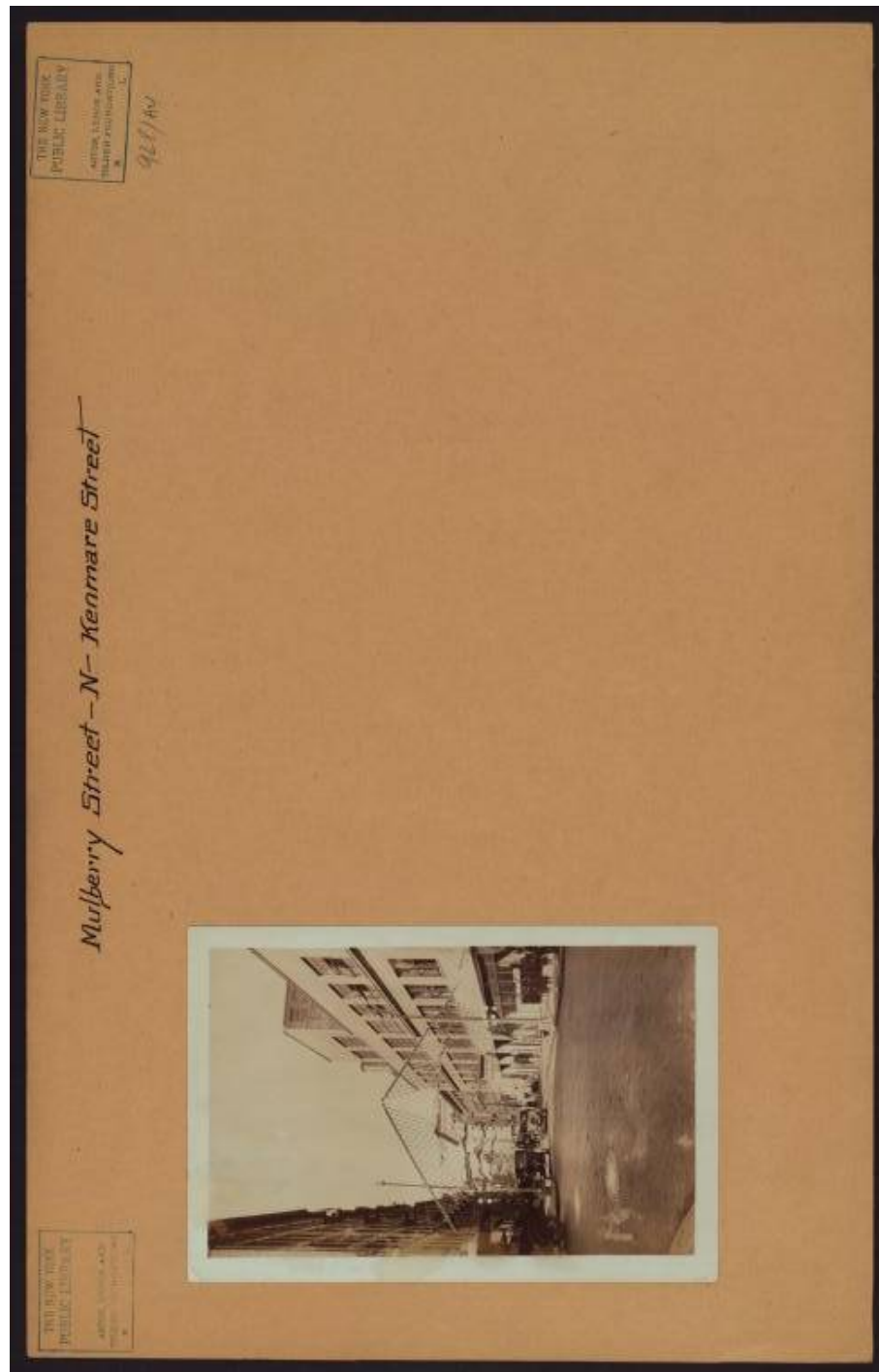


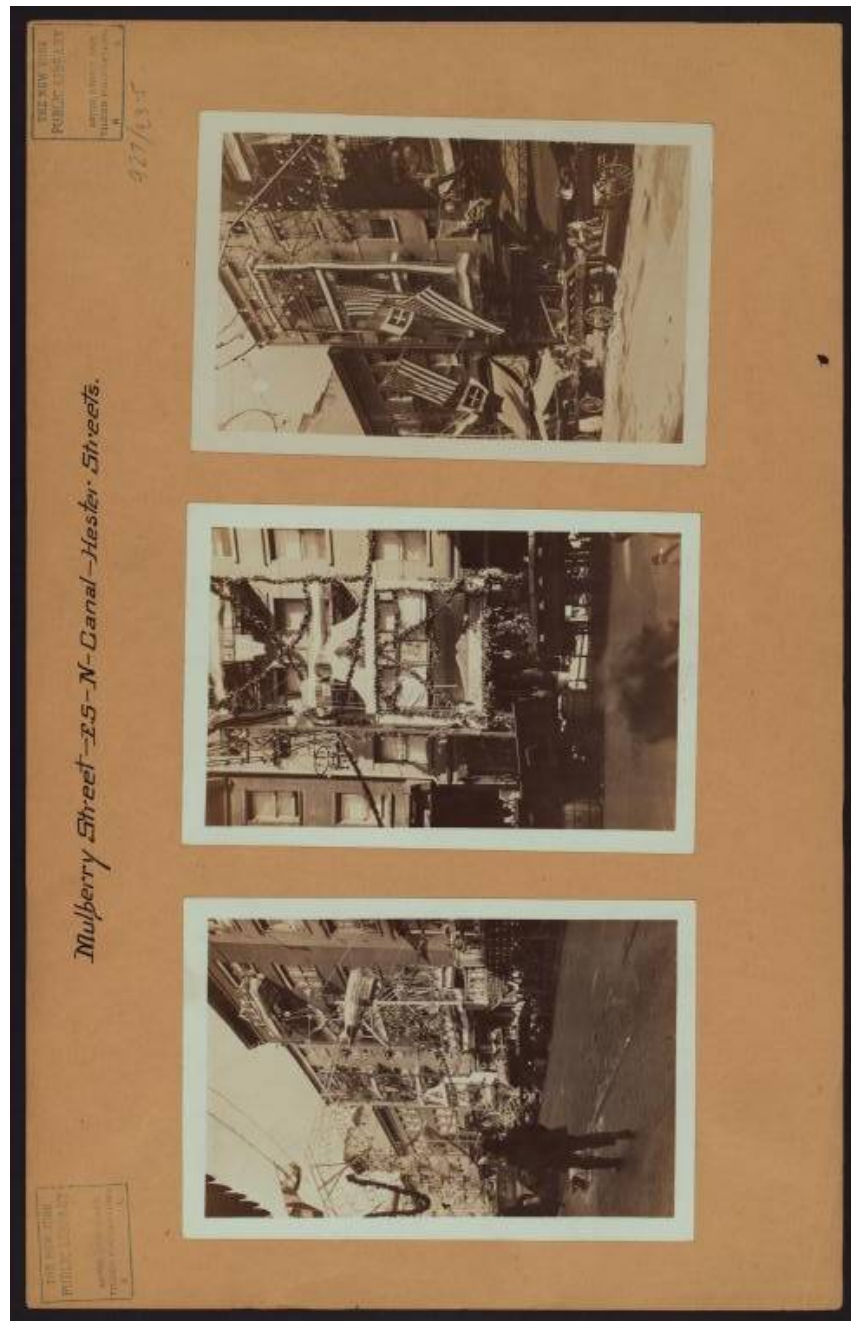
Figure A8. *Mulberry Street North of Kenmare Street.* Percy Loomis Sperr, Courtesy of The New York Public Library (<http://www.nypl.org/>)

Caption: "Mulberry Street, north from Kenmare Street. Sept. 21, 1929."



Figure A9-10. *Mulberry Street-NE corner with Hester Street* (September 21, 1929) Percy Loomis Sperr. Courtesy of The New York Public Library (<http://www.nypl.org/>)

Caption: "Mulberry Street, at the NE corner of Hester Street, showing a shrine during the Feast of San Gennaro. This set consists of two views. Sept. 21, 1929."



Figures A11-13. *Mulberry Street* (September 21, 1929) Percy Loomis Sperr. Courtesy of The New York Public Library (<http://www.nypl.org/>)

Captions:

Fig. A11: "1. Mulberry Street, east side, north from but not including Canal, to and including Hester Streets. the view shows decorations for the Feast of San Gennaro. Sept. 21, 1929."

Fig. A12: "2. The same, showing a closer view of No. 120 Mulberry Street, the premises of Salvatore Esposito, the Patron of the Feast. Including picture said to have been blessed by the pope. Sept. 21, 1929."

Fig. A13: "3. The same, as No.2, but at an earlier date. Sept. 20, 1929."

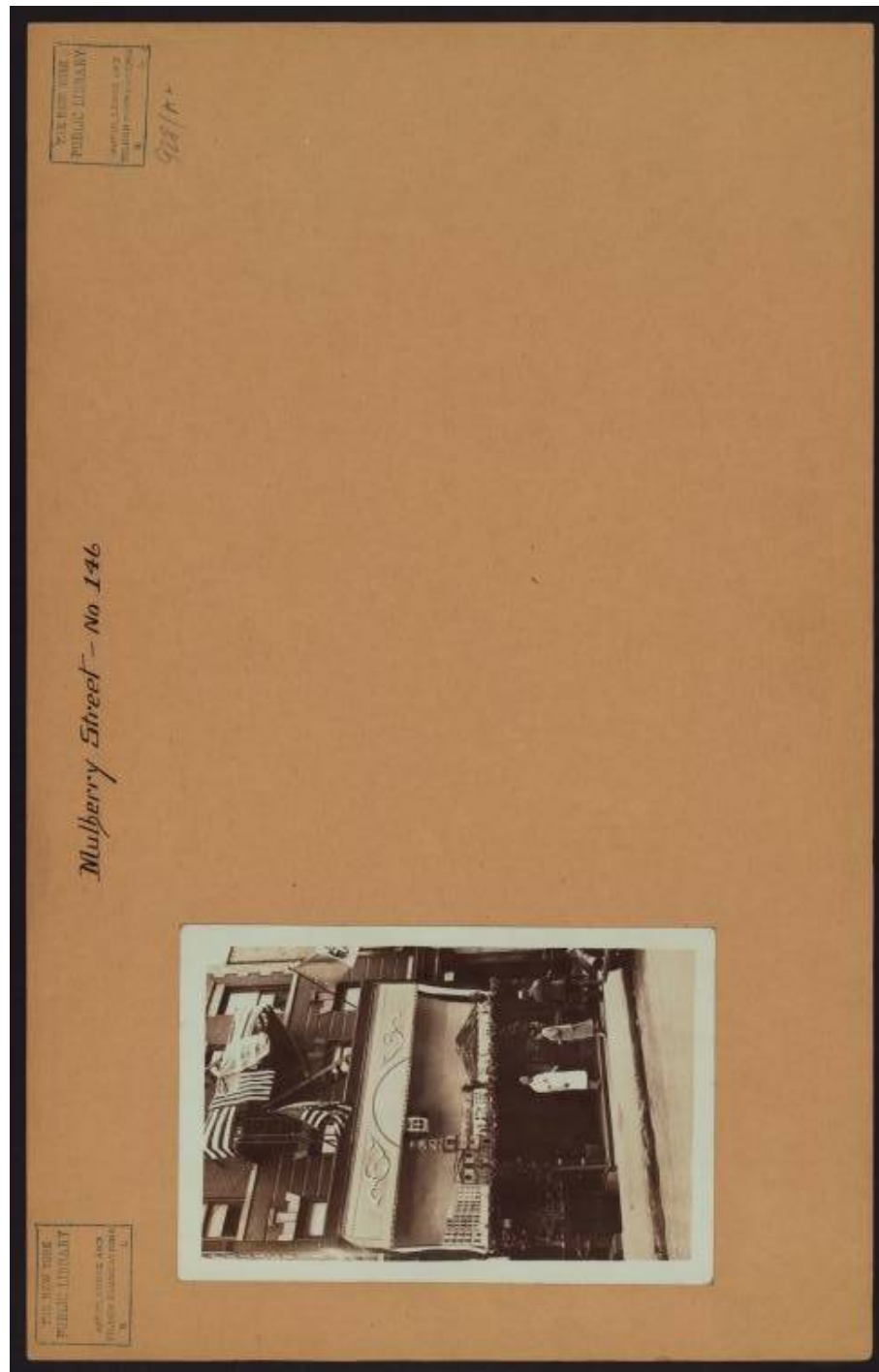
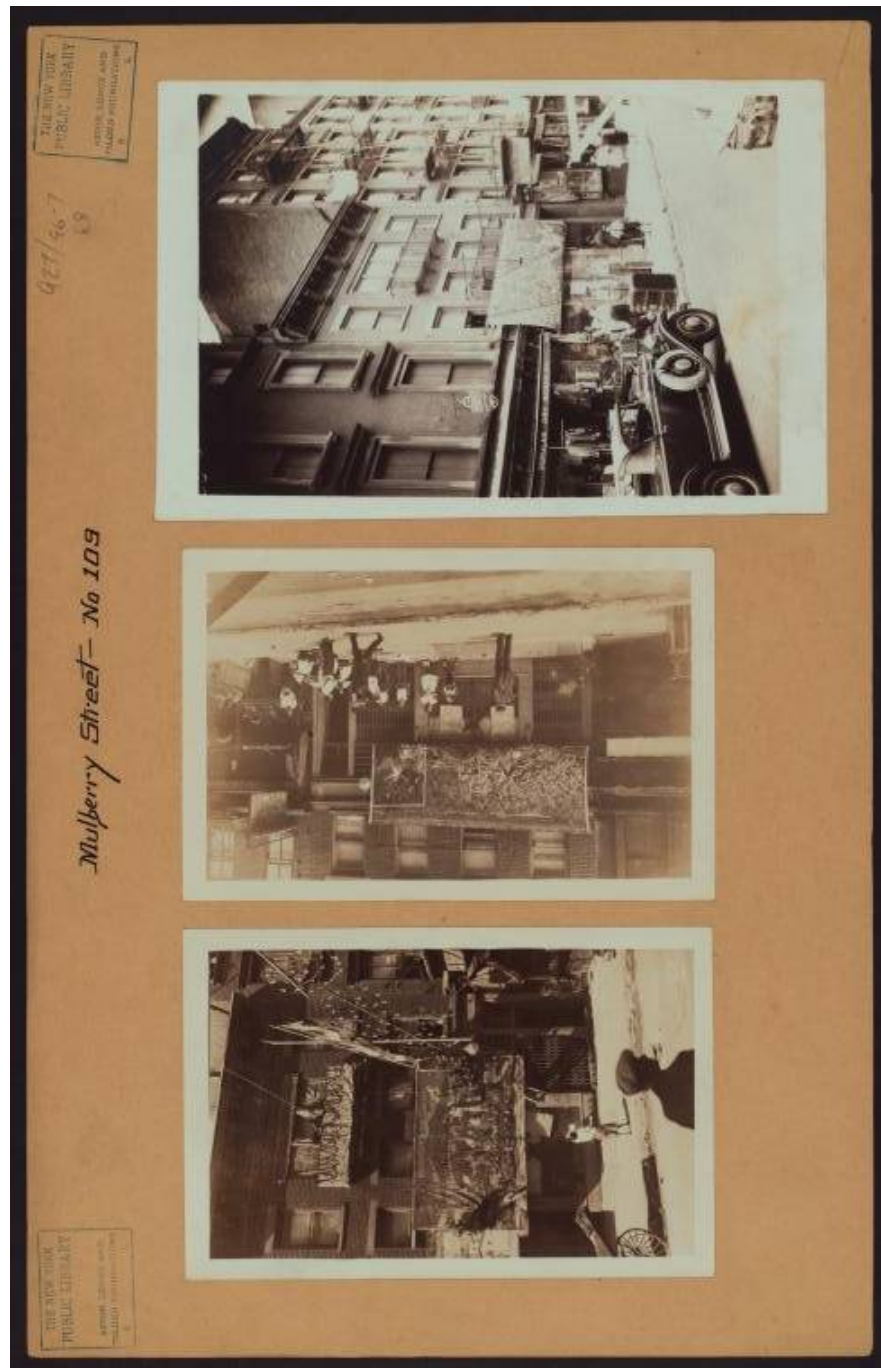


Figure A14. 146 Mulberry Street east side, south of Grand Street (September 20, 1929) Percy Loomis Sperr. Courtesy of The New York Public Library (<http://www.nypl.org/>)

Caption: "146 Mulberry Street, east side, south of Grand Street. Shown is a building decoration during the Feast of San Gennaro. Sept. 20, 1930."



Figures A15-17. 109 Mulberry Street (September 20, 1930) Percy Loomis Sperr. Courtesy of The New York Public Library (<http://www.nypl.org/>)

Captions:

Fig. A15: "1. 109 Mulberry Street, west side, north of Canal Street. Building contains a marionette theatre with attraction "The Miracle of San Gennaro. Sept. 20, 1930"

Fig. A16: "2. The same, showing the lower floors only."

Fig. A17: "3. The same, showing more of the building."



Figure A18. *Italian Neighborhood with Street Market, Mulberry Street, NY (1900-1910)* The Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy of The Library of Congress, American Memory (<http://www.nypl.org/>)



Figure A19. *Italian Neighborhood with Street Market, Mulberry Street, NY (1900-1910)* The Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy of The Library of Congress, American Memory (<http://www.nypl.org/>)

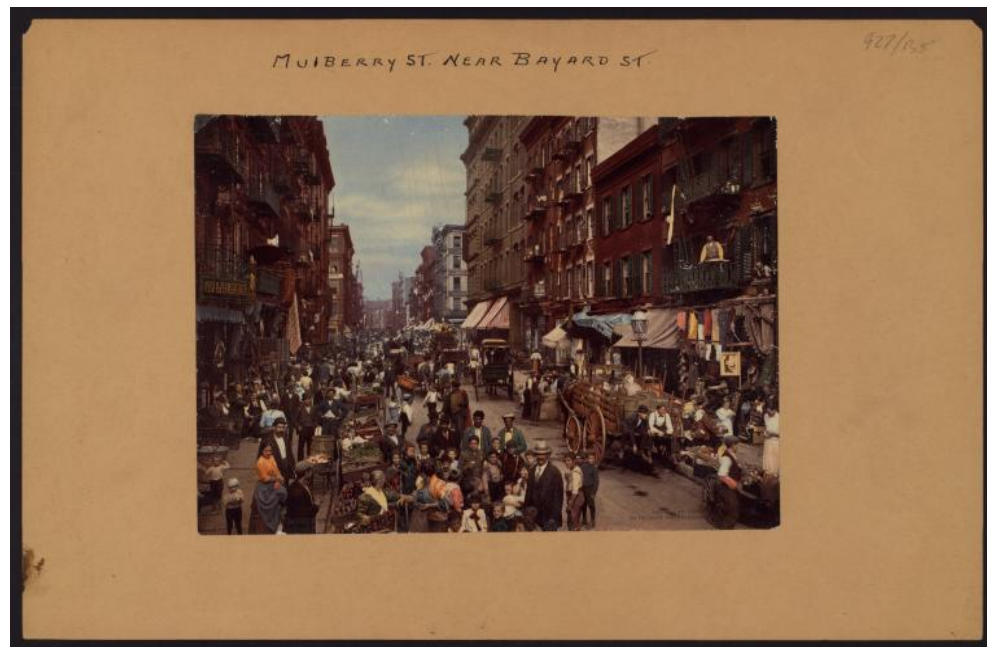


Figure A20. *Mulberry Street near Bayard* (undated) The Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy of The Library of Congress, American Memory (<http://www.nypl.org/>)



Figure A21. *Mulberry Street West Side North Bayard Street* (1931). Wurtz Brothers. Courtesy of The New York Public Library (<http://www.nypl.org/>)

Caption: "Mulberry Street, west side, north from but not including Bayard, to and including Canal Street. About 1931."

Appendix B. Photographs During the Revival Phase (Fig B1-B63)



Figure B1. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection Oct. 2004.



Figure B2. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004



Figure B3. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct 2004.



Figure B4. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B5. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B6. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B7. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B8. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B9. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B10. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B11. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B12. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B13. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B14. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B15. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B16. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B17. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B18. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B19. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B20. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B21. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B22. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B23. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B24. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B25. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B26. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B27. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004



Figure B28. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B29. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B30. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B31. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B32. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B33. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B34. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B35. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B36. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B37. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B38. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B39. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B40. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B41. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B42. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B43. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B44. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B45. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B46. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B47. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B48. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B49. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B50. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B51. *Mulberry Street, NY (2004).* Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B52. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B53. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.

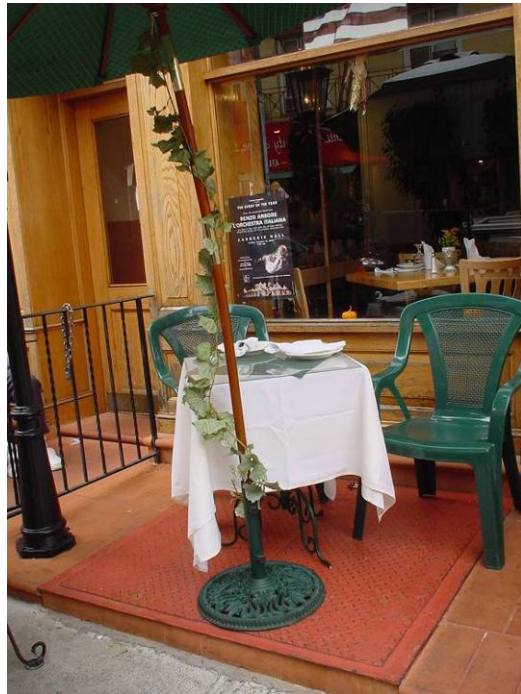


Figure B54. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B55. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B56. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B57. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B58. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B59. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B60. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B61. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B62. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.



Figure B63. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.

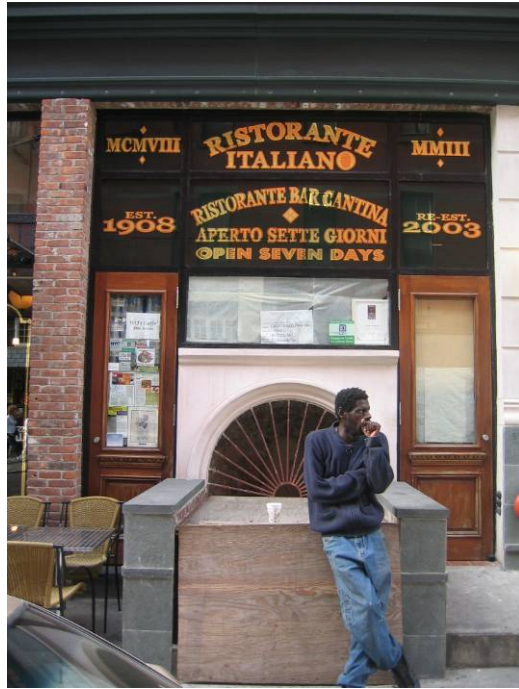


Figure B64. *Mulberry Street, NY* (2004). Researcher's collection. Oct. 2004.